COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. VIII. No. 17.] LONDON, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 26, 1805. [PRICE 10D.

"The cause of legitimate monarchy has suffered infinitely more from the folly and pusillanimity of "monarchical ministers, than from the cunning and violence of its open enemies; and, amongst all the "political sins of which the former have been guilty, the most dangerous, as well as the most odious, is, the "abandoning, the basely sacrificing, of their most zealous and most faithful adherents; while the republican, "and usurpers, in the midst of all their robberies, their murders, their treasons, and their blasphemies, have "invariably, cost what it would, given to their partisans, an honourable and efficient protection. The "Margrave of Baden, my lord, will be, to the princes of Germany, an example not less memorable or "less powerful than that which Napper Tandy presents to the rebels of Ireland. Both will look to France "as the only protecting and remunerating power; both will pay their court to her; and, whenever she "chooses to accept of them, both will range themselves under her banners."——Mr. Cobbett's Letters to Lord Hawkesbury on the New-Division of Germany, 1802.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

BAVARIA.—— *Historical Representation of the Events which have directed the Conduct of his Electoral Highness, the Elector Palatine of Bavaria, dated Wurtzburgh, September* 29, 1805.

Bowed down by the consequences of an unfortunate and exhausting war, Bavaria reposed in the slumber of the most profound peace. Without care, it saw the different camps in the adjoining Austrian states formed one after another. The want of peace appeared to be general, and it never suspected that it could be the intention of the powers to interrupt the public tranquillity. Though a dryness between France and Russia threatened a storm from afar, yet it was believed, that the distance between these two powers might afford a well-grounded hope, that the misunderstanding would not come to a final rupture; or, at least, that Germany would not be involved in it.—— Besides, the object of their dispute was so foreign to the interests of the Bavarian states, that the idea could scarcely be admitted, that it could be involved in the contest against France. Bavaria had no complaint against the Emperor Napoleon. By his vigorous co-operation, it had received indemnification for the losses it had sustained in the last war; and the courts of Vienna and Petersburgh cannot deny the interest which the Emperor of the French took on that occasion, in the Elector of Bavaria.—In these circumstances, accounts were received in Munich that the negociations which had scarcely commenced between France and Russia were broken off, and at the same time that a numerous army of Austrian troops was assembling at Wels, while considerable reinforcements were marching to the Tyrol. Several divisions of troops passed without previous notice, on their march to the Tyrol, a part of the electoral territory. ——The remonstrances made upon this subject produced the most satisfactory assurances from the Austrian envoy, at Munich, that this had taken place quite contrary to the will of the Emperor; an inquiry was promised to be instituted into the conduct of the officers who had led the divisions, who they said should be properly punished. Nothing more was heard of the matter, but the passages of troops without permission, followed more frequently and in greater numbers than before. Scarcely were these accounts received when the camp at Wels broke up, and the march of the troops to Braunau gave reason to suppose, that they meant soon to cross the Inn. The Elector, however, hoped to be able to preserve that neutrality which his geographical situation, and the interests of his exhausted states, seemed to prescribe to him as the most agreeable system.——The Elector had already commissioned his minister to make overtures upon the subject to the court of Vienna, when Prince Schwarzenberg suddenly appeared in Munich. He brought a letter from the Emperor of Russia, in which his Imperial Majesty, in the most decided terms, desired the immediate union of the Bavarian with the Austrian troops. This letter contained threats in case this desire was not fulfilled, and an assurance in case of its being accomplished, that he would never make any pretensions on the smallest part of Bavaria. In this categorical manner an overture was made, at a period when we had the less reason to expect any pretensions to be set forth by the Austrian court, that the electoral ministry had just concluded a convention with the Imperial Plenipotentiary at Munich, subject to the ratification of the elector, by which very considerable sacrifices were made in favour of his Imperial Majesty and the Elector of Saltzburgh. The Prince of Schwarzenberg, explained more particularly in an interview granted him by the elector, and in another which he had with

the minister of foreign affairs, in a commanding tone, the intentions of the Emperor. He desired the Bavarian army should forthwith be delivered up to the Austrian generals, and that in seperate divisions it should be incorporated with the Austrian army. The menace even escaped them that the Bavarian troops, if that desire was not fulfilled, should be disarmed. He required a complete and accurate representation of the state of the Bavarian army, and to all his other demands he added another, that the Elector should give him an answer on the same day. Nothing was prepared, the Elector thinking that he ought to yield to his confidence in the court of Vienna, immediately dispatched to his Majesty the Emperor, whose regard for right and justice are so generally recognised, his lieutenant general, the Count Nogarolla, with a letter, written by his own hand, in which in the openest and most cordial terms he confidentially represented to his Majesty the situation in which the elector found himself, the necessity he was under of abiding by the system of neutrality that he had adopted. Without permitting himself to take any steps which could excite suspicions respecting his intentions, the Elector, by the mission of this general, deprived himself of the commander of one of the principal divisions of his army. General Nogarolla had scarcely set out, when they were surprised in Munich by the intelligence, that the Austrian army were preparing to cross the Inn. The Elector now easily perceived that the Austrian generals were determined to put it out of his power quietly to deliberate upon the propositions made to him, and that they hastened at the very commencement of negociations to make sure of the Bavarian troops, and perhaps of the person of the Regent himself.——As to what concerns the troops, the Lieutenant Field-Marshal Mack affected no disguise, and confessed to a Bavarian officer, that, in consideration of the hopes which had been held out to the Prince of Schwarzenberg, he had countermanded the forced march of the division of General Klenau, which was destined to surprise Neuburgh, in order to cut off the retreat of the electoral troops. The moment was now arrived when the Elector of Bavaria, who had hitherto lent implicit confidence to the friendly assurances of the Imperial Envoy, should adopt a prompt and steady resolution to preserve his honour and independence. Without the smallest hostile view, but in order to maintain his neutrality, the court of Munich endeavoured to gain time, and to conceal the measures which it had recourse to, under the pressure of the moment, from Prince Schwarzenberg. When a wish was expressed further to treat with this general, who had in so commanding a tone required an answer in 24 hours, the Elector and his minister found out with astonishment that he was provided with no powers, and that before coming to any conclusion Field-Marshal Mack must be consulted. The interview for which this general and Prince Schwarzenberg had proposed the 9th of September, was agreed to, and in the mean time the Austrian troops actually entered Bavaria. With their first steps they made heavy requisitions, demanded the administration of the country to be placed in their hands, and began to force their paper money into circulation at its nominal value, while in their own land it had fallen to a discount of more than 50 per cent. in exchange for specie. In such circumstances an alliance should be concluded, stipulating the reform and incorporation of the Bavarian army.——In the night between the 8th and 9th of September, orders were given for the march of the electoral troops. The Elector and his ministers withdrew from further vexations, quitted the capital, and betook themselves to the Franconian provinces.——Notwithstanding the violent proceedings taken against the Elector, his personal confidence in his Majesty the Emperor, and even in Field-Marshal Mack, was not diminished. The electoral Lieutenant Colonel Ribaupierre was dispatched to an appointed interview at Haag, as he was the person best qualified to give the imperial quarter-master the most accurate information respecting the state of the Bavarian army. He was commissioned to represent that the union of the Bavarian troops could not be assented to as a preliminary, but must be the result of previous negociation; and particularly to declare, that his electoral highness would never consent to the disbanding of his troops, and would rather perish than submit to it. He remarked to Field-Marshal Mack, that the Bavarian troops had orders to fire on whatever troops should attempt to disarm them. The Prince of Schwarzenberg proposed to stop the march of the troops till a courier was dispatched to Vienna to fetch new instructions. Colonel Ribaupierre was disposed to accede to this proposal, but Field-Marshal Mack insisted on the Bavarian troops remaining where they were, while the Austrians should be permitted to advance. The Bavarian officer could not assent to such conditions; and here the negociations were broken off.——As the Austrian army were now advancing towards the Inn, the Bavarian troops, which were scat-

tered up and down in isolated garrisons, made their retreat on all quarters, in order not to come in contact with the army that was passing. They crossed the Danube, and went into cantonments in the Upper Palatinate. In order that the communications with the commander of the Austrian army might not be embarrassed or retarded by the court having changed its place of residence, the Elector appointed, for the purpose of entertaining those relations, his minister at the courts of Vienna and Salsburgh, Baron Gravenreuth, who happened then to be at Munich, thereby thinking to give a new proof of his earnest wish to preserve a friendly and good understanding. This minister, on the 13th, sent his brother, a captain of the electoral staff, and formerly attached to the mission at Vienna, to Field-Marshal Mack, to Munich, with a letter, in which, appealing to the system of neutrality that had been adopted, he begged to be informed of the particular tract of country through which the imperial troops were to pass, and what positions the electoral troops might take, in order that the imperial army might meet with no impediment on its march, and all occasion for collision be avoided. Field-Marshal Mack in his answer, contented himself with referring to what he had expressed in words to Captain Gravenreuth, namely, "That the Emperor would never consent to Bavaria remaining neutral, or to the Bavarian troops acting as allies in a distinct corps." The Field-Marshal, in his conversation, entered into a long detail, commencing with the mission of M. Novosiltzoff, and terminating with the transfer of the Austrian head-quarters to Munich, and explained the necessity of the rapid progress made into Bavaria, by the necessity of keeping near it the preparations for an attack on France.—He rejected every proposition for a line of demarcation, which he said would not be observed by the Russian army, which was already drawing near; declared, that the Bavarian troops, if they were not incorporated with the Austrians, would be no where secure, not even in the Franconian Provinces, and that he would follow them wherever they went, allowing no consideration to stop him. The General signified that he was empowered to treat Bavaria in a hostile manner, but that he still entertained hopes of matters being settled with friendship and cordiality. While the Minister Gravenreut gave intimation of these declarations to his Electoral Highness, and asked for further orders, one account followed another from the officers employed in the civil administration of the country of the conduct of the Austrian army. Provisions and forage were every where driven away without being paid for, and by the receipts, several millions were added to the unacquitted obligations of the last war.—The subjects of the Elector were obliged to furnish horses for the Austrian officers who were travelling post; horses were taken from carriages on the road, for the purposes of draught; considerable requisitions were made of horses, which were seized upon by execution. The Bavarian peasants were forced to drive the waggons. The Bavarian soldiers who were absent on leave, and the recruits, were forbidden to join their regiments, under pain of the loss of property. The land was inundated with Notes of the Bank of Vienna, which were forced into circulation at their nominal value; and the shop-keepers and trades-people who refused to take them, were threatened with a seizure of their goods.—The Commanders of towns, and the Commissaries of the army, adopted measures which seemed an introduction to a formal assumption of the administration of the country.—At last the Commissaries of the Army extended their jurisdiction to that part of the country of which they were not in possession; and, on the 16th and 17th of September, sent, under orders of Field-Marshal Mack, general directions to the Electoral Civil Commissaries at Amberg, at that time the station of the head-quarters of the Bavarian troops. By these directions the taxes, customs and revenues, of every kind, were to be collected into a chest, on the state of which notice was to be given every eight days to the Commissaries of the Imperial armies, without whose instructions, not the smallest sum should be paid, with the exception of a few current salaries and pensions; and that in all the Public Offices, the Vienna Bank Notes should be taken at their nominal value. By another order, they were commanded to search for, and deliver up the Austrian deserters. The Electoral Civil Commissaries in Amberg, sent back these orders, with a notification that they could receive instructions only from his Electoral Highness. The Minister Gravenreuth, however, remonstrated against these measures of the military Commissaries, and on the 20th of September dispatched a Staff Officer to the Austrian head-quarters. The Archduke Ferdinand, who, in the mean time, had assumed the command of the army, signified his conviction that the Military Commissaries had gone beyond their instructions, appeared to disapprove of their conduct, and promised to communicate an answer in four or five days. As the Aus-

trian troops were now advancing both out of Bohemia, and also by the way of Rain and Newburgh, into the Upper Palatinate, the Bavarian troops found themselves obliged to retreat, and to withdraw into Franconia.—On the 28th of September, the answer of the Archduke Ferdinand arrived in Bamberg, in which he referred to the Austrian Minister, who was then in Wurtzburgh.—This Minister, notwithstanding all that had taken place, had made no ceremony in repairing to the Court at Wurtzburgh. In an audience granted him, he delivered to the Elector a letter from the hand of the Emperor, in which his Majesty insisted on his first propositions, and desired the union of the troops. This Minister afterwards declared, that he was vested with full power to conclude an alliance with Bavaria. Propositions were brought forward so widely different from the system that had been observed by Austria for a century past, that their sincerity could not possibly obtain belief. Overtures were renewed to him, the principal of which were to recognise the neutrality of the Elector. He did not absolutely reject the proposition, but declared in the most precise terms, that the Emperor of Austria would never consent to an armed neutrality. His Majesty, he said, might perhaps consent to a neutrality, and even agree that a certain circle in the neighbourhood of Munich should never be occupied by Austrian troops, provided the Elector would previously consent to disband his army. Such a proposition necessarily revolted the Elector and his Ministers. In order, however, to avoid the slightest reproach of having abruptly broken off a negociation by which, perhaps, the Elector might have been placed in a situation to preserve his neutrality, these insulting demands met only a cool reply. The Imperial Minister proceeded, that if the Elector made a difficulty in the general disbanding of his army, the Emperor would be contented with the disbanding of only the Bavarian and Suabian troops, permitting him to retain the Franconians. The Minister of Foreign Affairs rejected a condition so humiliating for the Franconians. The Austrian Envoy declared, that besides the Franconian troops, the Suabians might also be retained, if the Elector would consent to disband the Bavarians. Without this express condition, however, no neutrality could be thought of. How could the Austrian Minister propose a measure by which a difference was supposed between the Electoral troops at once so injurious and insulting? His Electoral Highness, and the whole nation, are convinced that the same fidelity, and the same courage pervade the whole army, and know no difference. The Elector cannot better prove this than by intrusting the defence of the country to the Bavarian and Suabian troops, while he delivers up his person and family to the protection of those of Franconia.—The Minister of the Emperor and King further declared, that if the Elector remained armed, his Imperial Majesty would not even on that account treat him as an enemy, but that this measure must necessarily inspire a just distrust, and that his Majesty would in this case feel himself obliged to act as circumstances might require. It was remarked that this expression was extremely undefined, and might be explained in any way suiting the occasion. The reply was, that the Ministers of the Elector made no proposition to him, while he was empowered to discuss every condition which was compatible with the disarming of the Bavarian troops. On this new overture there was nothing further to be said. The honour and the independence of the Sovereign could not permit that the disbanding of the Electoral Bavarian troops should be fixed as the basis of any negociation. The Austrian Minister was now aware that his propositions were not, and could not be attended to, and that his negociation had entirely failed of success. He began, therefore, to complain of the approach of the French troops; he gave it to be understood too, that he did not feel himself in his proper place, and that, if no other proposition was made to him, he would return to the Austrian head-quarters. In fact, the Court learned, that on the 27th of September, at three o'clock in the afternoon, he had taken his departure from Wurtzburgh. Thus ended the negociation which Austria wished to enter upon, after it had over-run the land of a peaceable neighbour with a numerous army. This faithful representation, puts every man in a situation to judge of the intentions of Austria respecting Bavaria, and even to pronounce, that there was nothing left to the Elector of Bavaria, but to throw himself on the protection of the Emperor of France, against demands, insulting at once to his army and the nation.—Confidence in God, in a generous Ally, in a brave army, and a faithful nation, inspires courage in a just cause.—Heaven will bless the Bavarian arms!

GENOA.—*Memorial presented on the Part of the French Government to the several Continental States, on the Annexation of Genoa to the French Empire.*

After many vain attempts of the Ge-

those people to maintain the independent existence which France had guaranteed them, already on the brink of destruction, they unanimously resolve upon the only measure left them for their preservation; they decree, in the most solemn manner, their union with the French empire, and earnestly implore the Emperor Napoleon to receive them into the number of his faithful subjects, by a deputation, the members of which were directed not to leave Milan till they had, at least, obtained a promise of his Imperial and Royal Majesty, that he would comply with their desire.——The most urgent motives induced all the citizens of that republic to make a proposal which entirely changes their political situation. Important reasons invited France not to oppose this wish. All the naval powers could not but favour an union, which, without augmenting the continental strength of France, enables her, for the benefit of the commerce of all nations, to avenge the maritime encroachments and insults of England. It may not be amiss to consider, in various points of view, an occurrence which will soon be placed in a false light by the panegyrists of that government by whose conduct it was rendered indispensably necessary.——The senate and people of Genoa had made various efforts to give themselves a constitution, but without success. France herself had sincerely wished that this state might preserve its rank among the powers of Europe. She had defended it during the war; she had re-conquered it from Austria; she had endeavoured in various negotiations to stipulate for its advantage; she had increased its territory, to afford it new means of prosperity, and had successively ceded to it the Imperial Fiefs, the Valley of Oneglia, Loano, Serravalle, and other districts, inclosed by its territory, which belonged to France, prevented a free communication, and were injurious to its trade. It is still fresh in the memory of every one, that France, after she had, in the 8th year of the republic, re-conquered Genoa and her dependencies from the power which had taken possession of them, did not insist on those rights to which she was entitled by this event. She withstood the wish uttered even at that time by those who were best acquainted with the situation of their country, and rejected the proposal of an union, which would indeed have contributed more effectually to the tranquillity and security of Genoa, but which would then have appeared to be merely the effect of gratitude, and the recollection of the calamities she had endured.——Since that period, Genoa has been convinced that her welfare is no longer compatible with her independence, and that, in consequence of the change in the state of all Europe, she had become too weak to make head against the external attacks of armies or fleets, and to suppress internal commotions. After many years of difficulty and inquietude, she implored his Imperial and Royal Majesty, who had already undertaken to preside over the destinies of France, likewise to direct those of the Ligurian republic, and to unite all parties under a constitution better adapted to the state of the country and its old inhabitants. Genoa, accordingly, received a government whose form and regulations were sanctioned by the experience of many centuries, and whose fundamental principles were carefully examined and approved by the representatives of the State of Genoa, who were charged to take upon themselves that labour. But this new attempt, made with the concurrence of all, was not attended with any better success. Genoa was incapable of having either a government, a marine, foreign commerce, or internal police. She possessed not even the power to exterminate a banditti, who are still plundering a portion of her territories, and who even kept the inhabitants of the adjoining French departments in a continual state of alarm.——From all these fruitless exertions to improve her internal situation, Genoa learned that the causes of her imbecility, and the means of preventing her total annihilation, were to be sought abroad. Genoa, which subsisted entirely by commerce, has lost it in consequence of the aggrandizement of all the commercial powers. Numerous ports, which 20 years ago were scarcely known, and others which boast the peculiar protection of their respective governments, have vied with each other in diminishing the prosperity of the Port of Genoa.——New maritime states were created by the late war. Venice, whose trade had fallen to decay, is now the depôt of the commodities of a great empire. The same power has acquired a great extent of coast, and gives animation to the ports which nature has so richly distributed along it. The harbours in the republic of the Seven Islands will soon be of far greater importance than they were under the government of Venice. The English, now masters of India, have made Malta a new depôt for their merchandize.—While this competition arose round Genoa, she beheld the remnant of her commerce exposed to the depredations of pirates, and excited the envy of England, which not only refused to consider Genoa as an independent state, but employed every possible measure

to drive her to despair; which incessantly insulted her; which, during the late war, cut out of the harbour two French frigates, and massacred their crews, and treated her just as she pleased during the blockade.—— Before England had declared this war against Genoa, when Upper Italy was yet subject to several Sovereigns, the maritime commerce of Genoa, and her commission-trade with the Continent, was capable of preserving her from ruin. The former is now destroyed; and as England, besides throwing a thousand obstacles in the way of exportation, likewise seized every opportunity of sending her commodities into her own ports as contraband, his Imperial and Royal Majesty, whose dominions surround Liguria, found himself necessitated to adopt a system for the whole of those frontiers, which, while it prevented the importation of English commodities into the departments of France, likewise cut off all communication between Liguria and the Continent, and consequently put a stop to the only trade which England had left the republic.—— Alarmed at a situation which could not fail, in a short time, to involve her in utter ruin, Genoa was long convinced that she had no other resource than to unite herself more closely with France. She daily renounced, from necessity, a portion of her independance, and was protected only by a corps of French troops, for which she had applied. By the depredations of the Barbary corsairs that hovered about the island of Caprea, in order the better to molest her trade, she was, at length, compelled to cede that island to France.——Genoa, unable to equip vessels for the protection of her coasts, possessing dock-yards and magazines, unserviceable in her exhausted state, having merchant vessels, which her marine and her flag were incapable of protecting, and which were obliged to sail under that of another power, to escape the privateers, Genoa could no longer procure bread for her numerous population, depending for subsistence on maritime enterprise and the industry that prevails in her ports.——Not being in a condition to carry on, in a direct manner, the war in which England had involved her, she could do no more than send her seamen on board the French squadrons, and implore the French government to make use in place of her labourers for whom she could no longer find employment. In perpetual apprehension of civil commotions from the discontent of parties, on account of the general poverty, which was continually increasing, and the imbecility of the government, which could not firmly establish itself, she was persuaded of the necessity of forming a corps of gens d'armes, to be commanded by French officers.——Thus the union of Genoa was imperceptibly effected by her situation. This measure was desired by her inhabitants. Nothing more was therefore necessary than that it should be taken into consideration by those parts of the government which suffered the most from this state of uncertainty, the expenses and burthens of which rendered the condition of Liguria still more oppressive. Hence proceeded the sudden enthusiasm, the eager zeal, of the people of Genoa, to subscribe to the wish for an incorporation; when the senate, after mature consideration, thought it their duty to propose it, and regarded that as the favourable moment, in which his Imperial and Royal Majesty could behold, with his own eyes, the distresses of a country to which arms had restored its independence, but which, in spite of all its efforts, could not again recover its former prosperity.——As Piedmont, Parma, and Placenza, by which Liguria is incompassed, form a part of the dominions of his Majesty; as the kingdom of Italy is in his hands, and has received a Sovereign from him; as the republic of Genoa, which was forgotten by England in the treaty of Amiens, perceives that both the sea and the land are shut against her, she could not have formed a resolution better adapted to her interest and her dignity, than to incorporate herself with a great nation, and that with an impetuosity so enthusiastic as perfectly answered for the success of the measure.——His Imperial and Royal Majesty, affected by the motives which induced Genoa to adopt this resolution, was obliged provisorily to comply with a wish that was the result of long experience and the most mature deliberation. The annihilation of the hopes of a people who were determined no longer to be denied might have been productive of the most serious consequences.—— The continental power of France has not, in fact, been augmented by this union. A narrow tract, so cooped up by the sea and by mountains, as to leave a free communication only at a few points, which does not produce corn sufficient to support its 500,000 inhabitants, which is exposed to the havoc of annual inundation in its most fertile districts, and oppressed by the burthen of a prodigious debt, without any probability of its ever being paid off; the incorporation with his Imperial and Royal Majesty's state of such a country, which has but little communication with the Continent, and is incapable of restoring its naval power, on account of the alteration which has taken place in the situa-

tion of all other states, cannot afford any pretext for continental discussions; and its union with France cannot possibly produce any remonstrances by which peace is likely to be endangered. Should England succeed in creating discord on this subject, no alternative will be left his Imperial and Royal Majesty but to prosecute with vigour the unjust war that will be declared against him. ——Enjoying the satisfaction of having rescued a state which threw itself into his arms, he will have in his favour the goodness of its cause, the public opinion, and all the motives of dignity, neighbourhood, and benevolence, which have hitherto induced him to protect Genoa.——Far more important considerations of great interest to all Europe, excepting England, co-operated on this occasion in the resolves of his Majesty. France, which, by her political and geographical situation on the Atlantic and Mediterranean seas, is destined to check the usurpation of the ocean, and to vindicate the rights and independence of the maritime powers, has not coasts so extensive as England. Without enlarging her continental possessions, she will obtain, by the union of Genoa 6000 seamen to supply the place of those whom she lost during the late war, and will thus be enabled the better to cope with a state, the sole object of whose efforts is to usurp the dominion of the seas, which exercises an universal monopoly, which strives to make with every nation commercial treaties in her own way; which is extending her power in India only with a view to employ it against Europe; which violates all the rights of neutrals, and which will not conduct herself with more moderation towards them till France shall have acquired a formidable navy.——Were the English to restore Goa to the Portuguese, Ceylon to the Dutch, the vast possessions of Tippoo Saib to his heirs, and the Empire of the Mahrattas to its independence, it would better become them than to remonstrate against the union of a narrow tract of coast, which is already surrounded by the French territory. But these exaggerating alarmists, who will infallibly raise a prodigious outcry against a measure which they have themselves rendered necessary for Genoa, for France, and for the security of Europe, will, it is to be hoped, not make any impression on the wiser cabinets of the Continent. To all the states of Europe the situation of Liguria must be a matter of indifference. They have long seen that this country is separated from their territories by the dominions of his Imperial and Royal Majesty, and, from its position, can have no communication with them but by sea. They are already accustomed to the intimate relations subsisting between the Genoese and France, to the mutual interests and mutual operations which have rendered the two nations indivisible. Their union must appear to all Europe the inevitable result of their position. It cannot excite any mistrust in the continental powers, as it will not add a single battalion to the French army; as the gradual decay of Liguria forbids the annexation of its territory to be ascribed to wishes of ambition, so there is not a court that ought to entertain any alarm concerning the intentions of his Majesty, after the principles of moderation he has manifested, in accepting the Crown of Italy only till such time as the tranquillity of the south of Europe shall be restored.—England imagined, that while she was conquering India, and plundering the Sovereigns of extensive and opulent kingdoms, the distance of these unexampled usurpations would escape the attention of Europe. To France alone, destined by nature to preserve the rights of neutral states; to France, who has always exerted all her power, and placed all her glory in protecting them; to her alone it belongs to restore the balance of the seas. A few thousand more seamen will be sufficient for the equipment of ten ships which France is building in the midst of the war, and will be the best guarantee for the preservation of any future treaty between her and England. It is beyond a doubt, that, if at a moment of peace France has succeeded in placing her marine on a respectable footing, there will be no danger of a renewal of those hostilities which England thought proper to commence against France in May, 1803, of which the expedition against Denmark, and capture of the Spanish frigates, furnish a farther demonstration.——Europe will not then any longer be perpetually disturbed by the efforts of a government which is incessantly endeavouring to arm the Continent in favour of its design upon the seas, and which has in vain granted 5,000,000l. sterling to procure assistance.——The measure of the Genoese cannot, therefore, in any point of view, oppose the smallest obstacle to the negotiations with which M. De Novosiltzoff is charged. ——All the essentials of an equal, secure, and honourable peace still subsist: and if it were allowed to compare trifles with objects of importance, it might be said, that England has no right to complain of the wish for a union between Liguria and France, as France has made no complaint concerning the destruction of the Mahratta empire.

PRUSSIAN NEUTRALITY.——*Proclamation published pursuant to the Orders of his Prussian Majesty, in quality of Prince of Anspach, by the Magistrates of all the Places in Anspach bordering on Suabia; dated September 24, 1805.*

In conformity with a supreme rescript of the 18th instant, addressed to the undersigned local authorities, his Majesty the King of Prussia, our Prince, has resolved during the present critical circumstances, in which the other powers are about to be involved in mutual warfare, to observe the most rigid neutrality, for the welfare of his states and of his subjects. In consequence of this resolution, his Majesty has thought proper to order, for the maintenance of this neutrality:—1st. That no passage of foreign troops, nor of convoys accompanied by a military escort, shall be allowed to take place through the states of his Majesty, without his supreme consent:—2dly. That the passage of any troops, of whatsoever description, that shall either be demanded or attempted, without previous application, shall be refused with civility; but at the same time with unshaken firmness; and that no accommodation, conveyance, assistance, or succours of any kind shall be granted, upon any pretence whatsoever, either for payment or acknowledgment, but that such attempts are to be protested against, &c. The inhabitants of this city are hereby informed of an arrangement which ought to quiet their apprehensions; and excite their gratitude, inasmuch as it evidently proves the paternal solicitude of his Majesty; and it is expected that notice will be given to the undersigned department, of the approach of any troops that shall appear, and of the demands they may make. It is at the same time publicly notified, that his Majesty has thought proper, in the present critical conjuncture, to prohibit generally and most strictly, any exports from his states, and to extend this prohibition to bread corn of every kind, whether in grain or flour; as also to oats, to pease, and other leguminous productions, and to horses of any age whatsoever. All who shall offend against this prohibition shall be punished, without any regard to the particular circumstances, by the confiscation of the prohibited articles which they may wish to export, as well as of the horses and waggons.

AUSTRIA AND FRANCE.——*Note delivered to the Diet of Ratisbon by M. Bacher, Chargé d'Affaires for his Majesty the Emperor of the French at the German Diet; dated Ratisbon, September 30, 1805.*

The note which the undersigned, by order of his most Serene Sovereign, laid before the Diet on the 11th of September, has sufficiently shewn with what sentiments the Emperor of the French is animated; what are his dearest wishes, and what the hopes he ardently cherishes. Austria, however, which is resolved on war, and shuts every opening to negotiation and approach, as if fearful of being brought back to moderate and just sentiments, has suffered her troops to pass the Inn, and overrun Bavaria. She has trodden under foot the constitution, violated the peace, and annulled the reces of the German empire, a reces which so essentially interested France since it was the result of her mediation. The House of Austria thus proceeds towards the object she has proposed to herself, not by circuitous ways, by secret attacks, by the slow and dark measures of art and craft, but openly and with an armed force; and the object is no other than to annihilate the constitution of the German empire, destroy its principles, overrun with her troops the states placed under its protection, and on their ruin to establish her tyrannical dominion, and the subjection of Germany.——The Bavarian territories, which extend from the Austrian frontiers to the banks of the Lech, have been long desired by the Court of Vienna: she has neglected no endeavours and insinuations to obtain the consent of France to take possession of them.—These attempts she made during the negotiations for the peace of Luneville, when the Bavarian army was united with the Austrian: she made them after the peace was concluded; renewed them during the negotiations for the regulations of the indemnities; and more lately, while she was making preparations for war; and when she found that his Majesty the Emperor of the French was not to be shaken in his resolution to maintain the reces of the empire, and the integrity of the Bavarian possessions, she threw herself into the arms of England, and opened the gates of Germany to the armies of the north.——When the Emperor of the French learned that invasion of Bavaria, he saw that the time for explanation was past, and that it was necessary to act: his troops, with this view alone, have passed the Rhine, in order to secure the states of the Electors of Baden and Wurtemburgh from a similar fate.——In the moment, however, when the French troops penetrate into Germany, it has been the first care of the Emperor of the French to give the German empire a new pledge of his views; and the undersigned is commissioned to declare them in his name. The Emperor has only one object; this consists in repelling the unjust at-

tack, and restoring the independence of the body of the German empire, which has been attacked by the usurpations, unjust acquisitions, and acts of violence of the Court of Vienna. He will retain possession of none of the territories of Germany which may fall into his hands by the fate of arms. He guarantees to every prince the independence of his rights and possessions; and he will not lay down his arms till the rees of the empire shall be restored and confirmed in all its bases, and till Austria shall have renounced the monstrous claims of sequestration and incameration, and yielding up the acquisitions which she has made in Suabia, contrary to the express tenor of the rees of the empire, namely, by the acquisition of Lindau, and until she shall have ceased to make attacks on the independence and safety of Germany.——The undersigned, who is commissioned by the present declaration to give a new proof of the benevolent care of his Majesty the Emperor of the French, esteems himself happy in fulfilling so agreeable a duty. (Signed) BACHER.

Proclamation of Prince Eugene, Viceroy of Italy, Arch-Chancellor of the French Empire, to all the People of the Kingdom of Italy, given at Milan, October 1, 1804.

People of the Kingdom of Italy, the Cabinet of Vienna has determined upon war, both against you and the French people. That cabinet has dared to say, that the war has been provoked by France and Italy. Undoubtedly it will not be easy for it to make you credit this strange calumny. People of Italy, you know whether, during the last five months, Austria has for a moment ceased to collect forces under your eyes, to victual her fortresses, and to menace your frontiers. You are able to judge whether the Emperor of the French and King of Italy, though informed of all these hostile preparations, whereat you were justly alarmed, has not been in a manner deaf to the statements of the injustice and faithlessness of the Cabinet of Vienna. You know whether, at the moment when you were daily threatened with seeing your territory invaded, Napoleon did not refuse to hearken to your alarms, and to order suitable military dispositions to dissipate them. In a word, you know how often you have been surprised, alarmed, and have even complained of the patience of Napoleon.——Napoleon would not believe that war was possible. He demanded explanations: he did not recal his ambassador: he considered the residence at Paris of the Ambassador from Vienna, as a pledge that the House of Austria wished for peace: and hence it was that the armies of that House, taking advantage of the generous confidence of Napoleon, invaded the territory of a prince of the empire, of a prince guilty of the unpardonable crime of having remained faithful to treaties, and of having continued our ally. Unaccountable blindness, which has led the Emperor of Germany to compel those states to take refuge under the protection of the Emperor of the French, which he had at his coronation been bound to protect and defend. The cry of the Bavarian people has been heard by Napoleon. Napoleon is gone to put himself at the head of his armies. Soon shall the crime perpetrated against Bavaria be avenged. After a few efforts, peace, which has so often been granted, and so often offered by Napoleon, shall be secured for a long period. People of the kingdom of Italy! I am in the midst of you, such as my august and dearly beloved father-in-law, who has placed me here, has wished that I should be. On my part, I will take care that your property shall be respected, and your laws and constitutions preserved. Unquestionably, even with the greatest valour, there is yet cause for a people, still without defence, to apprehend those misfortunes which are inseparable from the state of war. Rely upon my zeal for the performance of all my duties: rely upon the sentiments of my heart, which I have declared to you. People of Italy; I will remove from you all the inconveniencies which I possibly can. I expect from you, zeal, attachment, and courage. You know the unlimited confidence which you all ought to place in that part of the French army, which is destined for Italy. You know the confidence which is due to the darling son of victory, to whom the Emperor has entrusted the care of defending you. People of Italy! Napoleon relies entirely upon you: rely entirely upon him. Napoleon has on his side the God of Armies, always terrible to the perjured. He has in his favour his own glory, his genius, the justice of his cause, the valour and fidelity of the people of Italy. Our enemies shall be vanquished.——THE PRINCE EUGENE.

BAVARIA.——*Address communicated to the Bavarian Troops by the Emperor Napoleon in General Orders, dated October* 5, 1805,

Bavarian Soldiers,——I have placed myself at the head of my army, to deliver your country from an unjust aggression. The House of Austria intends to annihilate your independence, and to incorporate you with its extensive dominions: but you will

be true to the memory of your ancestors, who, though frequently oppressed, but not subjugated, always preserved their independence and political existence, which is the first boon of nations, as fidelity to the Electoral House of Bavaria is the first of your duties. ——As a faithful ally of your Sovereign, I have been sensibly affected by the proofs you have given him, at this important period, of your attachment. I know your bravery, and flatter myself that, after the first battle, I shall be able to say to your Sovereign, and to my people, that you are worthy to fight under the leaders of the grand army.—— NAPOLEON.——By command of the Emperor and King.——MARSHAL BERTHIER, Quarter-Master General of the Army.

BAVARIA.——*Proclamation of Lieutenant-General Deroy to the Bavarian Army.*

Soldiers;——Your country has called you to its defence. In the midst of peace our Elector has been attacked by Austria: Bavaria has been overrun by her troops. Your prince wished to remain neutral; and you have seen yourselves forced to avoid the Austrian armies in order to prevent an engagement. But Austria requires your being incorporated with her army: she wishes you to be disarmed. You know the manner in which you were treated in former campaigns. Then you fought for that power: you marched together, and you submitted to excessive fatigues. What would have been your fate, if, when dispersed in that army, you had not dared to call yourselves Bavarians, the faithful subjects of Maximillian Joseph?——You, Bavarians, would not allow yourselves to be disarmed, you, who at the moment of the enemy's invasion, have traversed through his columns for the purpose of rejoining your colours.——You, Suabians, and Franconians, who, at the first signal, came to unite yourselves with your brethren in arms; you will not suffer yourselves to be dishonoured. Avenge the prince whom you love; avenge the unprovoked injuries which you have received; come to the camp, in order to conquer peace for your country. The great Emperor of the French has joined us with all his forces. Full of confidence in Providence, and in the justice of our cause, do not allow your country to be oppressed. Soldiers, let us possess your courage and confidence, and we shall be victorious.

CONTINENTAL WAR.——*First Bulletin of the Grand Army; from the French Official Paper, the Moniteur, dated Paris, Oct. 13, 1805.*

The Emperor left Paris on the 24th of September, and arrived at Strasburgh on the 26th.—Marshal Bernadotte, who, at the moment that the army set out from Boulogne, advanced from Hanover towards Gottingen, marched by Frankfort for Wurtzburgh, where he arrived on the 23d of September. —General Marmont, who had arrived at Mentz, passed the Rhine by the bridge of Cassel, and advanced to Wurtzburgh, where he formed a junction with the Bavarian army, and the corps under Marshal Bernadotte. —The corps under Marshal Davoust, passed the Rhine on the 26th at Manheim, and marched by Heidelburgh and Necker-Eltz, on the Necker.—The corps under Marshal Soult passed the Rhine the same day on the bridge which was thrown over it at Spires, and advanced towards Heilbronn.—Marshal Ney's division passed the Rhine the same day by the flying bridge opposite Durlach, and marched towards Stutgard.—The corps under Marshal Lannes passed the Rhine the 25th, at Kehl, and advanced towards Louisburgh.—Prince Murat, with the cavalry of reserve, passed the Rhine at the same place, and on the same day, and remained for several days in position before the defiles of the Black Forest. His patroles, which often shewed themselves to the enemy's patroles, induced them to believe that it was our intention to penetrate by these defiles.—The great park of artillery passed the Rhine at Kehl, on the 30th Sept. and advanced towards Heilbronn. The Emperor passed the Rhine on the 1st inst. at Kehl, slept at Ettlngen, the same evening, received there the Elector and Princes of Baden, and went to Louisburgh to the Elector of Wurtemburgh, in whose palace he took up his abode.—On the 2d inst. the divisions of Marshal Bernadotte, General Marmont, and the Bavarians who were at Wurtzburgh, formed a junction, and began their march for the Danube.—The corps of Marshal Davoust marched from Necker-Eltz, by the route of Meckmuhl, Ingelfingen, Chreilsheim, Dunkelsbuhl, Frembdingen, Oettingen, Haarburgh, and Donauwerth.—The corps of Marshal Soult, marched from Heilbronn and followed the route of Ochringen, Hall, Gaildorf, Abslgmund, Aalen, and Nordlingen. The corps of Marshal Ney marched from Stutgard, following the route of Erslingen, Goppingen, Weissentein, Heydenheim, Natlkeim, and Nordlingen.—The corps of Marshal Lannes advanced from Louisburgh, taking the road from Gross-Beutelspach to Pluderhausen, Gemund, Aalen, and Nordlingen.—The following was the position of the army on the 6th instant: The corps of Marshal Ber-

nadotte, and the Bavarians, were at Weissenburgh. The corps of Davoust was at Oettingen, and on the Banks of the Rednitz. That of Marshal Soult at Donauwerth, in possession of the Bridge of Munster, and repairing that of Donauwerth. The corps of Marshal Ney was at Koeffingen. That of Lannes at Neresheim; Prince Murat, with his dragoons, stood on the Banks of the Danube. The men were in perfect health, and burning with desire to engage the enemy. —The enemy had approached the entrances into the Black Forest, where it seems they intended to make a stand, and prevent our entering. They had fortified the Iller. Memmingen and Ulm were also fortifying in great haste. Our patroles assert, that the enemy have stopped their proceedings, and appear dismayed at our unexpected movements. The French and Austrian patroles have frequently met; in those meetings we have taken prisoners forty men of the regiment of Latour cavalry.—This grand and extensive movement has brought us, in the course of a few days, into Bavaria; it has enabled us to avoid the Black Mountains; the line of those rivers, which, running parallel, flow into the valley of the Danube; the difficulties of a state of operations which would always have been flanked by the entrances into the Tyrol; finally, it has placed us several marches in the rear of the enemy, who has no time to lose, to avoid his total destruction.

Second Bulletin of the Grand Army, dated Paris, October 14.

Events press upon each other with the greatest rapidity. The second division of the corps of the army under Marshal Soult, commanded by General Vandamme, which from the rapidity of its progress, halted but two hours at Nordlingen, arrived at Donauwerth at eight o'clock in the evening, and carried the bridge, which was defended by the regiment of Colloredo. Some men were slain and taken prisoners. Prince Murat arrived at the break of day on the 7th, with his dragoons; the bridge had been even then repaired, and the Prince proceeded to the Lech with the division of dragoons commanded by General Watter, directed Colonel Watier, at the head of 200 dragoons, to pass, who after a very gallant charge, got possession of the bridge and routed the enemy, who were double his force. Prince Murat passed that night at Reine. On the 8th, Marshal Soult set out with two divisions, Vandamme and Legrand, for the purpose of proceeding against Augsburgh, at the same time that General St. Hilaire advanced thither with his divisions along the left bank. At day-light, on the 8th, Prince Murat, at the head of the divisions of dragoons of Generals Beaumont and Klein, and of the division of carabineers and cuirassiers, commanded by General Nanzonti, set out on his march to intercept the road from Ulm to Augsburgh. When he arrived at Wertingen, he observed a considerable division of the enemy's infantry, supported by 4 squadrons of Albert's cuirassiers. In an instant he surrounded this whole corps. Marshal Lasnes, who was marching in the rear of these divisions of cavalry, arrived with the division of Oudinots and after an engagement of two hours, the whole of this division was captured—colours, guns, baggage, officers, and soldiers. It was composed of twelve battalions of grenadiers, which had arrived in a great hurry from the Tyrol, to reinforce the army of Bavaria. In the course of to-morrow, the details of this truly brilliant action will be made known.—Marshal Soult manœuvred with his divisions the whole of the 7th and 8th inst. on the left bank of the Danube, for the purpose of intercepting all the avenues from Ulm, and of observing the corps of the army which appeared to be still assembled in that fortress. The corps of Marshal Davoust arrived only on the 8th at Neubourg. The corps of General Marmont, has also arrived there. The corps of General Bernadotte, and the Bavarians, arrived on the second, at Aichstet. By the intelligence that has been obtained, it appeared, that twelve Austrian regiments had left Italy to reinforce the army of Bavaria. The official account of these movements, and of these events, will be interesing to the public, and will do the greatest honour to the army.

Third Bulletin of the Grand Army, dated Paris, October 16.

Zusmershausen, Oct. 10.—Marshal Soult pursued the Austrian division, which had taken refuge at Aicha, drove it from thence, and on the 9th at noon entered Augsburgh, with the divisions of Vandamme, St. Hilaire, and Legrand.—On the 9th in the evening, Marshal Davoust, who crossed the Danube at Neubourg, arrived at Aicha, with his three divisions.—General Marmont, with the divisions of Boudet, Grouchy, and the Batavian division of General Dumonceau, passed the Danube and took a position between Aicha and Augsburgh.—In fine, the army under Marshal Bernadotte, together with the Bavarian army commanded by Generals Deroc and Verden, took their position at Ingolstadt. The imperial guard, commanded by Gen. Bessieres, proceeded to Augsburgh; as likewise the division of cuirassiers, under the command of Gen. Hautpoult.—

Prince Murat, with the division of Klein and Beaumont, and the division of carabineers and cuirassiers, under General Nansouty, hastened with all speed to the village of Zusmershausen, in order to intercept the road from Ulm to Augsburgh.—Marshal Lannes, with the grenadier division of Oudinot, and the division of Suchet, took post the same day in the village of Zusmershausen. The Emperor passed in review the dragoons of Zusmershausen; he ordered to be brought before him a dragoon, named Marente, of the 4th regiment, one of the gallant soldiers who, in the passage of the Lech, had saved his Captain, who but a few days before had cashiered him from his rank. His Majesty bestowed upon him the Eagle of the Legion of Honour. The soldier then observed, "I have only done my duty; my "Captain degraded me on account of some "violation of discipline, but he knows that "I have always proved a good soldier."—The Emperor next expressed his satisfaction to the dragoons, of the conduct they had displayed at the battle of Wertingen. He ordered each regiment to present a dragoon, on whom he also bestowed the Eagle of the Legion of Honour.—His Majesty expressed his satisfaction to the grenadiers of General Oudinot's division, than which a finer or more enthusiastic corps cannot possibly exist.—Until we are enabled to give a detailed account of the battle of Wertingen, it may be proper to say something of it in the present bulletin.—Col. Arrighi, at the head of his regiment of dragoons, charged the regiment of cuirassiers of Duke Albert. The action was very sharp. Col. Arrighi had his horse killed under him, and his regiment burned with eagerness to rescue him. Col. Beaumont, of the 10th hussars, fired with a true French spirit, seized upon a Captain of cuirassiers, in the midst of the hostile ranks, whom he himself made a prisoner, after having cut down a dragoon.—Colonel Maupetit, at the head of the 9th dragoons, charged in the village of Wertingen; being mortally wounded, his last words were—— "Let the Emperor be informed, that the "9th dragoons have shewn themselves worthy of their reputation; and that they "charged and conquered, exclaiming,— "Long live the Emperor."—That column of grenadiers, the flower of the enemy's army, having formed in a square of four battalions, was penetrated and cut down.—The 12th battalion of dragoons charged in the wood.—Oudinot's division were indignant at the distance which still prevented them from attacking the enemy; but at the very sight of them, the Austrians hastened their retreat—one brigade only was in time to charge.—All the cannon, colours, almost all the officers of the enemy's army who fought at Wertingen, were taken: a great number were killed. Two Lieut. Colonels, six Majors, sixty officers, 4000 soldiers, have fallen into our hands. The remainder were dispersed; and what escaped owed their safety to a morass, which stopped a column that was turning the enemy.—The chief of a squadron, Excelmans, aid-de-camp of Prince Murat, had two horses killed under him. It was he who carried the colours to the Emperor, who said to him—I know no man can be braver than you; I make you an Officer of the Legion of Honour.—Marshal Ney on his side, with the divisions Walher, Dupont, and Loison, the division of dragoons of General Baraguay d'Hilliers, and the division of Gazan, ascended the Danube, and attacked the enemy in their position at Grumberg.—It is now five o'clock, and we hear the firing of cannon.—It rains heavily; but this does not retard the forced marches of the Grand Army. The Emperor sets the example on horseback night and day, he is continually in the midst of the troops, and in every point where his presence is necessary. He yesterday rode fourteen leagues. He slept in a small village, without servants, and without any kind of baggage. The Bishop of Augsburgh had, however, illuminated his palace, and waited his Majesty during a part of the night.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS.

JAMAICA COMPLAINTS.——*Representation of the House of Assembly of Jamaica to the Lieutenant Governor relative to the Intercourse with America, dated July* 18, 1805.

Sheweth;—That, after the applications made to your honour by the House, and by the inhabitants at large, assembled in their respective parishes, nothing but a sense of duty the most imperious, and our confidence in your honour's wishes to relieve the distresses of the country, could have induced the House again to call your honour's attention to the interdiction of a supply of salted provisions from the United States of America.——It is matter of public notoriety that the herring fishery on the coasts of the United Kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland failed for the last two seasons, and that the internal troubles had occasioned a scarcity of cattle in Ireland. Although the price was exorbitant, in most cases one-third of the quantity of fish for which orders were sent from this island could not be procured, in

many instances no part of it. A great proportion of the expected importation, intended chiefly for the larger estates, was lost in a fleet wrecked on the coast of Portugal, and little or none was brought to the island for sale, the only means by which the smaller settlers procure this most important article. At the proclamation of martial law the country did not contain one-tenth part of the salted fish which was usually to be found at the same season of the year, and had the inhabitants with their negroes been obliged to retire from the sea-coasts, and concentrate themselves in the interior, the wants and clamours of the latter might have produced consequences most fatal to our safety.——The measures pursued by his Majesty's ministers, prohibiting the importation of animal food, would have been a more powerful aid to the enemy than additional armies and squadrons, and, in a similar emergency, may occasion the loss of this country, in despite of the energy and exertions of the army and inhabitants——Should no such important crisis occur, the greatest calamity will be brought upon our slaves, by a total want of one of the first necessaries of life. About 100,000 barrels of salted fish, and a considerable quantity of beef and pork, are required for their annual consumption: whilst our situation was such as has been stated, calling for an immediate importation of upwards of 8000 barrels monthly, not one has arrived from Great-Britain or Ireland since the 21st of May, and from the British Colonies in America only one vessel has entered in the port of Kingston, with 105 hogsheads of salted cod, and 114 barrels of other fish. ——Salted provisions are the chief corrective of the vegetable diet of the negroes, and a want of them inevitably brings on dysentery and disorders of that class, which, whenever prevalent, never fail to carry off great numbers.——By being deprived of what they know to be absolutely necessary, and have been accustomed to consider their right, discontents are excited, and there have already been instances of gangs of negroes leaving the plantations, to complain to the civil magistrate of the usual allowance being withheld. Unable to comprehend a political necessity, so fatal in its consequences, they attribute the deprivation to the avarice and unkindness of their owners; and those habits of respect and affection, of such importance in the government of the slave, and to the happiness of his master, are rudely torn asunder by the very men who accuse the inhabitants of not cultivating them with due care, and have instructed your honour to institute inquiries, whether strict attention has been paid to the law which requires giving the food we are prevented from procuring.——The poorer free inhabitants are no less injured and oppressed by the regulations complained of. Already fresh beef and other animal food have advanced one-third in price. To the opulent this may be of little consequence; but the poor man, supporting himself and a family by daily labour, is obliged to abridge a meal which before was not abundant.——The cost of fresh beef for the navy and army has augmented in the same proportion. Amongst the millions by which the statesmen of the mother-country reckon her expenditure, this may be little regarded; but in our unfortunate situation, with a revenue unequal to the claims upon it, such an addition to the expense of subsisting the troops is a serious evil. Within a very short period the cost of the ration allowed has been tripled; and it cannot be denied that a perseverance in the measures lately adopted, must accelerate the period when this burthen will become insupportable.——It would be easy to enlarge on the evils which we have thought it sufficient to hint at: the proof of the facts is ready; the consequences cannot be doubted; and we trust that your honour will apply the remedy before it is too late, by issuing a proclamation giving permission to carry on the intercourse as conducted previous to the 21st May last.——In similar situations the mother-country opens her ports to all the world, and invites subsistence on any terms. She has even respected an enemy under the pressure of famine, and permitted food to enter the ports of Spain during the present war.——We only request to be furnished with what she cannot give. Our commerce we submit to her regulations; but, in framing them, we must be permitted to hope that the comfortable subsistence of all the lower orders of the community, and the lives of our slaves, will not be sacrificed on the interested misrepresentations and for the advantage of selfish individuals, who look only to the profits of their speculations, without regard to their effect on the general interest.

Reply of the Lieutenant-Governor.

Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the Assembly,——In consequence of the measures which were taken during the late martial law for the security of Jamaica, all neutral vessels have been, by my direction, admitted to an entry at the several Custom-houses in the island, although they may have contained salted provisions prohibited by my proclamation of the 20th May last. The arrival of the Cork fleet, which is daily ex-

pected, will I trust tend essentially to quiet the apprehensions you entertain of a scarcity of those articles, so necessary for the support of the poorer classes of the inhabitants of the island, as well as to correct the vegetable diet of the negroes.

Speech of the Lieutenant-Governor on proroguing the Assembly.

GENTLEMEN OF THE COUNCIL, MR. SPEAKER, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE ASSEMBLY,——The business for which you were called together having terminated, I grant you a recess.——Mr. Speaker, and gentlemen of the assembly, I thank you for the arrangement you have made for the payment of such part of the expenses of the late martial law as called for your immediate attention, and I have no doubt that you will provide for the remainder, at your next meeting, with your usual liberality.——Gentlemen of the council, Mr. Speaker, and gentlemen of the assembly, I do now prorogue this general assembly to Tuesday the 13th of August next, and it is hereby prorogued accordingly.

CATHOLIC CLAIMS.

LETTER III.

[The following letter was sent for publication previous to the discussion of the Catholic Question in Parliament. Want of room then prevented its appearing. It is now published at the request of, and in consequence of a promise to the author; and, an additional motive is, that this letter will naturally lead to other topics, which this able writer intends immediately to discuss. The 1st and 2d letters will be found in Vol. VI. p. 900, and Vol. VII. p. 33.]

SIR,——The Catholic Petition has at length been presented to both Houses of Parliament, and a discussion of the utmost importance to the vital interests of the empire, may soon be expected to take place. Its reception in the House of Commons was unattended with any remarkable occurrence; but, it is observable, that in the House of Peers, some attempts were made to prejudge the question, and to excite in the minds of that august assembly, and the public, an impression unfavourable to the object of the petitioners. The noble lord, who brought the instrument forward, abstained with the utmost forbearance from all discussion of the subject at that time, and prudently reserved the display of his great talents, extensive information, and dignified eloquence for the important day, when his uncommon powers will doubtless appear in their full lustre. As no argument was offered in favour of the petition, and insinuations were thrown out, evidently to raise a prejudice against it in the House and the country, it is a matter of curious speculation, to consider what would have been the language of a sensible and well-informed Catholic Peer, had he been permitted to deliver his sentiments on that occasion. Let us suppose, however improbable the supposition, that he had been suffered to investigate the business at full length, and that undismayed by the novelty of the enterprise, and exhibiting a dignity of manner not unworthy of his rank, he had in a manly and energetic style, delivered his sentiments to a full house without disguise. We may conceive him to have spoken to the following effect:——My lords; unaccustomed to pursue the career of ambition, formed by habit and disposition to a life of retirement and solitude, and debarred solely by conscientious difficulties from taking my seat in this house, I should not have availed myself of the present indulgence of your lordships, had not some observations been prematurely made by a noble baron on the other side. In consequence of the insinuations, which have fallen from that noble lord, apparently without reflection, and undoubtedly without a knowledge of the question, I feel it an imperious duty, I owe it to myself, to the religion which I profess, to my King and country, and to the high character which my Catholic ancestors always maintained, to state, at some length, the grounds of the petition on your lordships' table, and to shew that an unqualified compliance with the modest and respectful supplication of the petitioners, would be unattended with the smallest danger either to church or state. It is probably unnecessary to appeal to the candour and liberality of your lordships, and to request a patient attention to this address, and a full, calm, and unbiassed consideration of this important subject. (A loud cry of hear, hear, from every quarter of the House.) Animated, my lords, with this mark of your attention, I beg leave without farther preamble, to enter into the merits of the question, and to direct the consideration of your lordships to the plain, obvious, and avowed object of the petitioners. It is not for the purpose of diffusing discontent through the empire, of embarrassing his Majesty's government, and of adding to the disorder of these calamitous times, that your petitioners have made this manly, but respectful appeal to the justice and liberality of Parliament. The good and loyal behaviour of the Catholic body at large, and the character and respectability of the noblemen and gentlemen who have signed

the instrument, utterly destroy such an imputation. No, my lords! they are men of inoffensive conduct, and tried merit, who appear before you in the attitude of supplication; their object is evidently to obtain the civil rights of the British constitution. What can be more just, more honourable to their feelings, than to express a rational desire of participating in the blessings common to their fellow subjects, and of enjoying a full and complete toleration, under that form of government, which makes this country the admiration of the world? What greater proof can be adduced of their judgment, than the rational and decided predilection, with which they declare, they contemplate the admirable principles of the British constitution?——It is not necessary to spend much time in proving to your lordships, that the civil advantages of our invaluable constitution, belong to all British subjects, by the *fundamental* laws of the land; and by consequence that they are to be extended to the natives of Ireland. These advantages are called in the great charter, "liberties and free customs," of which the subjects of this kingdom are not to be despoiled without the consent of their peers. (Chap 29) they are frequently denominated the Birthright of Englishmen, and the *Bill of Rights* or Declaration presented to the Prince and Princess of Orange, Feb. 13, 1688, and afterwards enacted in Parliament, concludes with these remarkable words: "And they do claim, demand, and insist "upon all and singular the premises, as "their undoubted rights and liberties." And the Act of Parliament itself (1 W. and M. st. 2. c. 2) recognises "all and singular "the rights and liberties asserted and "claimed in the said declaration, to be the "true, ancient, and indubitable rights of "the people of this kingdom." (Blackstone's Rights of Persons, Vol. 1. c. 1.) Such, my lords, is the strong and decisive language by which the noble advantages of our constitution, are secured to every Briton without distinction; and on this ground, your petitioners call upon your lordships to remove the restraints, under which they still are doomed to labour, without any just cause; and to reinstate them in the privileges enjoyed by their fellow subjects.——My lords, it is surely needless to say more, in order to illustrate a point, which none of your lordships can be disposed to controvert, that the blessings of the constitution are the birthright of every Briton; and, consequently, that they are to be diffused among the inhabitants of Ireland. I am, however, too well acquainted with the train of human events, not to know that reasons of justice and policy may exist, which render it necessary to deprive individuals of their "liber-"ties and free customs," and even to extend civil disabilities to whole descriptions of subjects, if their principles or their conduct should prove hostile to the good of the community. But, my lords, there is another principle equally clear and incontestible, that such prescriptions of whole bodies of men are of a very odious complexion, and should never be suffered to exist a day longer, than they are made necessary by the circumstances of the case. They are of their own nature but temporary regulations; in the free government of Britain, where civil servitude is unknown to the spirit of our laws, such proscriptive penalties should cease, when the occasion that gave them birth is removed. On this ground, my lords, I beg leave to put it to the candour of your lordships, whether there can be found in the principles and the conduct of the Catholics of the present period, any substantial reason for the continuance of those restrictions which were made against their ancestors? Is any one of your lordships prepared to say, either that the principles of the Catholics are not fairly stated in the modest petition on your table, or that in the principles thus represented, there is any thing hostile to the community at large? (No! No! No! from every quarter of the House.)——Much less can it be asserted, my lords, that their conduct has been at variance with their professions of allegiance. The most unequivocal testimonies in their favour for a long series of years, are to be found in the public and deliberate acts of the late legislature of Ireland, and in the repeated declarations of his Majesty's representatives in that country. The rebellion of 1798, and the subsequent disturbances of 1803, have not belied their general character. For, though Catholics were found to be deeply engaged in those infernal attempts, that circumstance was naturally to be expected, because the mass of the people of Ireland consists of the members of the Catholic communion. But, my lords, let it not be forgotten that the leaders were not Catholics; but that the Catholic nobility and gentry, the bishops, and even the parochial clergy to the number of 2000, all, with the exception of about 20, preserved their loyalty unshaken, and contributed by their meritorious efforts to the preservation of their country. (See Plowden's History, Rev. Vol. 2. passim.) As long as honour and patriotism are held in any estimation in Britain, it will ever stand recorded to the credit of your petitioners, that many among them exposed

their property and their lives, on that melancholy occasion, in defence of their King and country; that they braved every hardship in contributing to suppress an unnatural rebellion; and that they sacrificed every thing dear and precious in life, to a high and refined sense of honour and loyalty. (loud applauses) My lords, suffer me here to pause, and ask your lordships, on what grounds you can consent to a more lengthened suspension of the liberties of your fellow subjects, whose principles are so pure, and whose loyalty is so eminently conspicuous? I here solemnly intreat your lordships, to bestow on this affair the most attentive and unbiassed consideration, and to put it to your own minds, how the present situation of affairs can be justified on any grounds of equity, honour, and policy? If the "liberties and free customs" of Britons are their birthright, if they cannot be deprived of them but for very substantial reasons, if when these reasons cease to exist, a restoration of the privileges of the constitution, is a natural and obvious consequence, what shadow of excuse can be produced, for the continuance of the restraints in question, when not only the causes of these disabilities have long ago ceased to operate, but the sufferers are distinguished by a loyal and meritorious conduct?——The noble lord has said, that if the petition should be complied with, we should see a Protestant church without a Protestant congregation; and a Protestant King with a Popish legislature. My lords, from the tone of the noble baron, I should have imagined that the affair was likely to produce the most wonderful consequences, that we were about to witness a spectacle, which had never been exhibited to mankind before, that mountains were to be levelled, and that rivers were to flow back to their source. (a laugh) But after this display of the effects resulting from a compliance with the prayer of the petitioners, what will be the amount of the real consequence of the measure? Why, my lords, we shall continue to witness in Ireland, what we see already, a Protestant church richly endowed, but with a slender proportion of adherents, as four-fifths of the inhabitants are Catholics, and nearly half of the remainder are Presbyterians. We shall behold four millions of Catholics, more closely united than they are at present to a Protestant government. But the wonder is not to stop here. A Catholic legislature is to make its appearance under the government of a Protestant King, and a complete reformation is to take place in church and state. To effect this grand object, there are at present five Catholic peers in Ireland, one of whom might possibly be chosen in the course of a dozen years, to take his seat in the Imperial Parliament. As one eighth of the landed property of Ireland belongs to Catholics, they might, in the same period, return about a dozen members to the House of Commons, out of the hundred who represent the whole country. Then the grand catastrophe is to commence. These twelve sturdy apostles of innovation, with a peer at their head, are to go out *a colonelling*, to rout the whole legislature, to take the cabinet by storm, to give up the country to the pope, and to raise the altar upon the ruins of the communion table. (Loud applauses accompanied with much laughter.)——This, my lords, to trifle no longer, is the real representation of the imaginary alarm raised by the noble lord. It affords a striking proof, how easily the greatest men are led into error, by an imperfect and partial view of the subject on which they deliver their sentiments. But the noble lord proceeds to an objection of a more serious nature. He observes that the test act must necessarily be repealed, and the complaints of the dissenters be redressed; and that thus the bulwark of the church will be thrown down, and the utmost danger ensue to the establishment. May I be permitted, my lords, without the least disrespect to the personal character of the noble baron, to express my unfeigned astonishment, that on a subject which might be presumed to be familiar to him, he should have shown such a notorious deficiency of information. That the repeal of the test act is a leading object of the petition is undoubtedly true, but that concessions would thus be made to the dissenters, to the danger of the church establishment, can be asserted by those only, who are either deceived themselves, or willing to lead others into error. I need not inform your lordships, that the test act bears the date of the 25 Car. 2, and that it was originally framed, not from any danger apprehended from the speculative doctrines of the Catholic religion, but from the connexion of the court at that period with Catholic powers, and the dreaded succession of the Duke of York, afterwards James the Second. The title of the act clearly manifests the purpose for which it was framed, for it is called an *Act for preventing dangers which may happen to Popish Recusants.* Eckard, an historian not partial to Catholics, acknowledges that the law was principally, if not solely, directed against them. (Hist. of England, Vol. 3, fol. edit. p. 893.) It must be owned that the *letter* equally affects the rigid dissenters. But the provisions of the

legislature, and, above all, time and custom, the slow but certain destroyers of all human regulations, have, as far as the dissenters are concerned, completely blunted the edge of this celebrated act. Many persons of that description are known to recur to an occasional conformity, in order to accept of offices under government, others of more delicate and tender consciences, are relieved by the annual bill of indemnity, which is equivalent to a periodical suspension of the law; and it is now a notorious fact, that there are dissenters in great numbers in actual possession of places, both civil and military, and that they are not even excluded from corporations. As to the Catholic, he considers the acceptance of office under the circumstance of the existing laws, as a dereliction of his religious belief, and in fact, remains excluded by the force of the test from every emolument or place of trust, if we except some subordinate employments, which he is authorised to fill by the provisions of the bill passed the 33d Geo. III. c. 21. Thus it clearly appears, that the test act, with respect to dissenters, is become a dead letter, and that its operation is confined to the Catholic *only*. Now, my lords, I appeal to the candour of your lordships, I appeal to the noble baron himself, whether a law made for temporary purposes only, made to repel dangers, which are now known to exist, whether such a regulation ought, under the present circumstance of the country, to be considered as the bulwark of the ecclesiastical establishment; and whether its repeal is likely to be followed with the downfal of the church, and the consequent ruin of the state? Surely no man can be so destitute of common understanding, as to make such an assertion, if he possesses any knowledge of the real state of the question. No man can expect any credit, who should affirm that if the whole representation of Ireland consisted of Catholics, which amounts to a moral impossibility, even in that case, they would ever be able to gain an ascendancy in the Imperial Parliament.——But, my lords, give me leave to observe, that remarks of this nature respecting the repeal of the test, are not only unfounded, but that they contain, the severest and the bitterest reproach, which can be uttered against the religious establishment of the country. If it be said, that the test act, which as I have shewn your lordships, is directed in its present operation against Catholics only, is still necessary to the support of the church; what is this but to assert, that, in order to preserve the ecclesiastical establishment, four millions of people, or one-fourth of the United Kingdom, are to continue in a state of civil servitude, stripped of the invaluable rights of British subjects! My lords, I hold this doctrine not only disrespectful to the church; but defamatory and libellous; (hear! hear! hear! from every part of the House), and I call on the reverend bench of bishops, to interpose on this occasion by their authority; and to rescue the establishment from disgrace; I call on them in the most earnest and solemn manner to reprobate the idea, that in order to keep *them* in affluence and splendor, it is necessary to violate the liberties, and trample upon the rights of Englishmen; (hear! hear! hear!) I adjure them to declare, if such a system of civil intolerance is at all necessary for the safety of the church or state. Excuse the warmth, my lords, with which I attempt to repel, a doctrine so repugnant to the mild and tolerant spirit, that is ascribed to the church of England, and so hostile to the genius and principles of British liberty; and, allow me to support the idea which I have suggested on this part of my subject, by the authority of a great man now no more. "I cannot conceive," says Mr. Burke, "how any thing "worse can be said of the Protestant religion of the church of England, than this, "that wherever it is judged proper to give "it a legal establishment, it becomes neces-"sary to deprive the body of the people, if "they adhere to their old opinions, of their "liberties and free customs," and to re-"duce them to a state of civil servitude." (Mr. Burke's Letter to Sir Hercules Langrishe.) I could not suffer such an idea, my lords, to go forth uncensured to the world; and, I have, therefore, taken some pains to expose it in its genuine deformity. (hear! hear! hear!)——My lords, I have said, that to the church of England is ascribed a mild and tolerant spirit; and, I believe, that she glories in this enviable distinction. (Unequivocal marks of approbation from every part.) But, my lords, all pretensions to this honour must be resigned, if civil disabilities are perpetuated on the ground of religious belief. A government most certainly can and ought to demand a test of civil allegiance from all its subjects: Prompt and absolute submission to the laws, and perfect security, that no attempts whatever will be made to disturb the ecclesiastical establishment. If perfect satisfaction can be given on these points, no subject can, without the most flagrant injustice, be stripped of civil rights on account of his religious opinions. As well, my lords, might you punish an obstinate adherence to the antiquated notions of Aristotle and Descartes, and oblige every

subject under civil penalties, to adopt the more modern system of Newton, of Kepler, and of Halley. Religious belief, is in a political light as innocent as opinions in philosophy, and the civil power has as little right to interfere in one instance as in the other. Such interposition, is in fact, a proceeding without jurisdiction, an act of its own nature null and void, it is an open usurpation of the rights of conscience, rights not subject to the control of Sovereigns. To apply these obvious and incontestible principles to the present case, I will ask your lordships, whether or not you are satisfied, that the petitioners are loyal subjects, and have no designs against the church established by law. On this subject there can be no diversity of opinion. The solemn assurance contained in the petition is amply confirmed by the evidence of facts, and their loyalty has been formally recognized by deliberate acts of the Irish legislature. Here then is the alternative left to your lordships; either you must comply with the prayer of the petition, or deliberately resign all pretensions to the praise of toleration; confirm the imputation frequently thrown on the church of England, and sanction the disgrace of your country. (A loud cry of hear! hear!) *Tertium certe nihil inveniris potest.*——To the claims of the Catholics thus established on the most evident principles, some are willing to find an objection in the terms of the coronation oath. My lords, I shall not be guilty of any improper allusion to the conscientious difficulties, which are reported to be felt by a great personage; much less can I approve of the unconstitutional mode, which some pursue of throwing out this hint to influence the decision of Parliament. I am, however, extremely gratified in having this opportunity of paying a tribute to the goodness and benevolence of my Sovereign, and to his paternal regard for the welfare of his subjects; and, I rest assured, that, in his final determination of this important point, he will be more influenced by the wisdom of his parliament, than by the artful counsels of secret advisers. If the coronation oath be examined with the most rigorous exactness, it will not be found to contain any clause which prescribes a direct or even implied obligation of withholding from his subjects of any description, their civil rights on the ground of religion. The only clause which relates to religion, in any manner, is the following: "Will you to the utmost of your "power, maintain the laws of God; the "true profession of the Gospel, and Protes-"tant reformed religion established by law? "And will you preserve unto the bishops "and clergy of the realm, and the churches "committed to their charge, all such rights "and privileges as by law do and shall ap-"pertain to them?" (Blackstone B. 1. c. 6) My lords, what is the immediate object of the celebrated clause? What can we conceive to have been in the contemplation of the legislature, at the time the act was framed? Was it not meant to impose an obligation on the King in his executive capacity, to preserve the rights of the church inviolate, and not to imitate the conduct of James the Second? Was it not evidently the object of Parliament, to prevent the repetition of those scenes which disgraced that imprudent reign, and to secure the rights of the bishops and clergy from invasion? The whole tenor of the words cited, clearly indicates that they are to be considered in an ecclesiastical, not a political light. The King, therefore, cannot be deemed to be under an obligation of withholding from his subjects their civil rights, much less can he be prevented from concerting with his Parliament, measures for restoring to any class of men in his kingdom, "the liberties and free cus-"toms," of which they are unjustly deprived. Let me intreat the authors of this objection to consider the fatal consequences of propagating such an opinion. If the duty, which the coronation oath imposes on the King, to support the religious establishment, is understood to prevent his Majesty from consenting to the admission of Catholics to the rights of the constitution, what is this but to sanction the idea, that, wherever the Protestant reformed religion obtains a legal existence, there civil liberty is to be violated; and those who dissent from the established mode of worship, are to be subjected to political servitude? My lords, I have more than once reprobated this intolerant opinion, and I cease not to warn your lordships of its fatal tendency. I again appeal to the reverend bench, and exhort them not to stamp so unpopular, so bigotted, and so unjust a sentiment with the seal of their approbation, but to reject it with horror, as hurtful to the establishment, and hostile to the principles of British liberty. (Hear! hear!) Let them be persuaded, that if any unpopular prejudice can ruin the religion of the land in the minds of the people, it must be such a sentiment as this, which represents the church as built upon civil intolerance, and supported by flagrant injustice.——My lords, I feel that I am taking up too much of the valuable time of your lordships, and abusing that peculiar and extraordinary indulgence with which I have this day been favoured. (Hear! hear! from every quarter.) But

an honest and laudable desire of giving every information on the subject, has carried me thus far; and, as I am encouraged to proceed by the approbation of your lordships, I will endeavour to obviate other difficulties which may be urged against a compliance with the petition. I am fully sensible, my lords, that the most illiberal prejudices still cleave to the minds of many of my countrymen, against the old religion of this land; and I expect to hear the antiquated charges of superstition, bigotry, despotic power, and persecution still revived, for the basest purposes; and shall not be surprised to find the pope represented as a horned and deformed beast, the Catholic church the "Whore of Babylon," and her prelates as the associates of Anti-Christ. But, my lords, I have the honour to speak to men of liberal and exalted ideas, to statesmen whose talents, sense, and information raise them far above the narrowness of bigotry, and the frenzy of fanaticism. Here I expect candour and liberality, and trust that my hopes will not be frustrated. If, however, any of your lordships should have any alarm about the nature and extent of the pope's power, I hope to be excused, in attempting to dissipate all fears by a real statement of the case. Catholics consider the pope as the supreme pastor, vested with a power to govern the whole church, and issue mandates, relating to faith, morality and discipline. They acknowledge in him no right to interfere in the temporal jurisdiction of sovereigns, or the independence of states. As to his infallibility, which has excited so much alarm, it is a subject of scholastic disputation among Catholic theologians, and by no means an article of faith. In whatever light it be considered, it relates solely to spiritual objects, and bears no reference to civil authority. For this reason, the infallibility attributed by Catholics to their church, or to a general council sanctioned by the pope, cannot possibly prove any source of uneasiness. If in the decisions of the general councils, there are sometimes found decrees relating to temporal objects, they were framed by the concurrence of the civil and ecclesiastical authority, in order to stop the progress of disorders hurtful both to church and state. This observation may serve to explain a decree in the Council of Lateran, which has been a subject of much misrepresentation and calumny. About the close of the 12th, and the beginning of the 13th centuries, disorders of the most immoral nature, propagated principally by the Albigenses, prevailed in some of the southern countries of Europe. Many attempts had been made without effect by the civil power to repress the growing disorder; at last it was determined to have recourse to the united authority of church and state, in order to crush an evil in its nature hostile to the existence of society. Accordingly, in the general council of Lateran, held in the year 1215, at which most of the sovereigns of Europe assisted by their ambassadors, a decree was framed, by which temporal princes were enjoined to banish the infamous heretics of the time from their states, and to punish by the severest penalties their unnatural crimes. It was added, that if any prince refused to obey the order within a year, the pope was directed to excommunicate the offender, absolve his subjects from their allegiance, and give up his country to the Catholics. This, my lords, to a man unacquainted with the history of that time, appears a cruel instance of ecclesiastical oppression; and in this country it has been the source of the utmost scurrility against the Catholic religion. But, in reality, the decree was no attack on the temporal rights of sovereigns; since it was enacted at the request, and by the authority of those princes whose ambassadors assisted at the council. Such is the observation of Fleury, who together with the rest of his countrymen, is certainly not partial to the civil pretensions of the Popes. (Fleury, Histoire Ecclésiast. tom. 16, liv. 77, p. 364, édit. Paris 1720.) This, my lords, is the real statement of a transaction, which venal or ignorant writers in this metropolis, misrepresent for the purpose of obstructing the views of the Catholics. But, I doubt not, that the final decision of your lordships on this important concern, will enlighten the minds of the ignorant, soften the rage of bigotry, and repress the fury of fanaticism. Whence, then, let me ask your lordships, can arise any alarm respecting the power of the pope? If the supremacy or the right of governing the Catholic church as first pastor, relates to spiritual concerns only, if your petitioners in common with every Catholic of the universe, acknowledge in the sovereign pontiff no authority incompatible with civil allegiance, how can the connexion of loyal subjects with the spiritual head of their church, excite any degree of disquietude?—My lords, will any man be so weak as to imagine, at this period of the world, that the bold and extravagant pretensions of popes in former days, can be seriously adduced as a reason for excluding his Majesty's subjects from the enjoyment of civil rights? If there be found such a man, let him reflect that the claims, to which I allude, originated not in the principles of Catholic faith, and that

the demands of popes concerning civil rights, met with opposition from Catholics themselves. This may be collected from a great variety of events in our history. But all controversy of this nature is now completely at an end. It is now universally acknowledged, that the temporal power of his holiness is fallen to the ground, and that his most devoted adherents are satisfied to allow him only spiritual jurisdiction of such nature, as can give no uneasiness to sovereigns. Look round, my lords, and take a general view of the state of Europe, examine the prevalence of the Catholic religion in every country, and then ask yourselves, whether all the alarm, which has been so artfully raised, either about the principles of Catholics, or the power of the pope, be not absolutely chimerical? I need not inform your lordships, that according to the most accurate accounts of political arithmeticians, the inhabitants of Europe amount nearly to the number of 153 millions; of this extent of population, in the most civilized and enlightened part of the globe, about two thirds or nearly one hundred millions are Catholics. They are spread over immense tracts of country, in the north, middle, and south of Europe; the Catholic religion is the prevailing mode of worship in several states of considerable extent in *all* Italy, Spain, Portugal, France, including the recent acquisitions in Austria, and the hereditary dominions; Catholics are blended in great numbers with the Protestants of Germany, the Lutherans of Sweden and Denmark. Many are found in the scattered dominions of the Emperor of Turkey, and in Russia they receive at this day the utmost encouragement and protection. In the United Kingdom they constitute at least one fourth of the population. In all these places Catholics unanimously admit the spiritual supremacy of the pope, but in no country are their principles considered incompatible with their submission to the civil power. In many Protestant states, they are admitted indiscriminately to the enjoyment of emoluments and places of trust. If, my lords, my countrymen are not determined to shut their eyes to the light of reason; if their minds are not hardened against conviction, if plain facts and arguments possess any force, this view of the subject will dissipate the fears of the most timorous, and calm the rage of the most intolerant. But if any man will obstinately close his eyes at noon-day, and declare that we are surrounded with Egyptian darkness, in spite of this statement before him, which [illegible] given, and at this enlighten[illegible] he still persist to declare, that the principles of the Catholic religion are incompatible with the safety of the state; such a man, my lords, in my judgment should rather be consigned to the care of a keeper, than have a place in this august assembly. (A loud cry of hear! hear!)——My lords, the great portion I have already occupied of your lordships' time, makes me desirous of hastening to a conclusion: but, I must request your indulgence to be heard a little longer, while I offer a few remarks on the general heads of the petition. A leading article which is submitted to the candour and justice of your lordships, for the purpose of obtaining redress, is the exclusion of Catholics from Parliament. This is, indeed, a point, on which a diversity of opinion cannot rationally exist. It is not necessary to remark to your lordships, how tender the laws of England are in ascertaining and protecting the sacred and inviolable rights of property. It is on this ground, that the public money is raised and disbursed, not at the arbitrary will of a minister, but by the consent of the people. "No subject "of England," says Blackstone, "can be "constrained to pay any aids or taxes even "for the defence of the realm, or the sup- "port of government, but such as are im- "posed by his own consent, or that of his "representatives in Parliament." (Blackstone, Book 1. c. 1, p. 140, edit. 1787.) Now, I put it to your lordships, whether it be not a cruel and intolerable instance of injustice, that Catholics, and Catholics *only*, composing one-fourth of your population, should not only be deprived of the right of either actual or virtual representation, but that they should be positively excluded from the enjoyment of this fundamental privilege of Englishmen, by a declaration made in the sight of God, insulting to their religion, and that of their forefathers, and to the sentiments and feelings of two-thirds of Europe. This, my lords, is a restriction of so odious and detestable an aspect, that on every principle of justice and policy, it should not be suffered to remain a day longer to the utter disgrace of this country. It owes its origin to the infamous and pretended plot of Titus Oates, of which the remembrance, for the honour of the British government, should not be perpetuated by an act of flagrant injustice. ——My lords, there are other parts of the petition highly deserving of the attention of your lordships, and the principles on which the whole is founded, must certainly press themselves on the consideration of a British Parliament. The exclusion of which the petitioners complain, from places of trust and employments civil, naval, and military,

is a grievous hardship. If governments subsisted, as they did in former ages, on domains belonging to themselves, the exclusion from employments could not be made such a serious subject of complaint. But the situation of most governments of Europe has undergone a complete alteration. They are now supported by private contribution; revenues are raised from the labour of individuals, and ample returns are made to the subject, not only by the general benefit of protection and security, but by refunded profits of industry, through the channel of posts and employments. As every subject is peremptorily summoned to contribute his proportion to the service of the state, the plain dictates of equity demand, that no one should be debarred from the chance of partaking of its favours; which should be bestowed with an impartial hand. The revenues of a government, my lords, may be considered as a state lottery, in which, those who contribute to its existence, should not be deprived of the prospect of a prize. To take an opposite direction, to involve any class of subjects in a species of proscription, on account of religious sentiments, or what is infinitely more odious, to declare four-fifths of the inhabitants of a country loyal subjects, and worthy of the favours of government, still to give them but subordinate occupations, and reserve the higher honours and employments of the state to a few hundred thousand individuals; such conduct is unworthy of the justice and liberality of the British nation, and of the enlightened age in which we live. It tends, as the petitioners well observe, to impede his Majesty's general service by stifling honourable incentives to merit, and by restricting that prerogative of the crown, which excites subjects to meritorious actions, by a well regulated distribution of honours and rewards.——Let it not be urged as an objection to the measure, that the business is not introduced in the first instance by the civil servants of the crown. The question submitted to your declaration, is an affair of great national importance, which your lordships are fully competent to decide. Either, my lords, this doctrine must be admitted, or your lordships must be considered as the instruments of arbitrary power, or servants dependent on the nod of a minister. How far this latter situation is consistent with the dignity of this august assembly, your lordships are to decide. ——On this solemn occasion, my lords, when I am admitted to deliver my sentiments before the most august assembly of the universe, and on a question which deeply affects the interests of the British empire, I should ill discharge my duty to God, to my Sovereign, and to my country, if, to the most cogent arguments which I have adduced in favour of the petition on your table, I did not add the most pressing exhortation to give this momentous concern, all the attention which it demands. Suffer me to intreat your lordships, to exert your utmost influence to carry into effect a measure, which will completely annihilate religious animosity, promote harmony and concord among every class of his Majesty's subjects, establish civil freedom on the firmest basis, unite every heart in enthusiastic attachment to our glorious constitution, disappoint the hopes of an inveterate foe, and raise an unsurmountable obstacle to that ambition, which seeks to reduce to a state of vassalage the surrounding nations of Europe."—THE BRITISH OBSERVER.——*April* 4, 1805.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

PARTIES.—The evil consequences, arising from the feebleness of the present ministry, cannot fail now to be generally perceived, and, as the war advances, it will, doubtless, be *felt* most severely. It is fitting, therefore, that we should, as soon as may be, come to a settled and correct opinion as to *the cause* of this great source of public mischief. The reader will, perhaps, think, that there can be scarcely a possibility of a difference of opinion upon the subject; that, if a ministry be too weak, either in point of talent or of consequence in the country, the ministers ought not to remain in office; and that, for all the consequences of this weakness, they are not less responsible, than they are for any folly or crime that they may be guilty of, in the management of public affairs. This doctrine is perfectly sound; it is maintainable by the clearest reason, and is exactly conformable to the principles of that constitution, one of the chief ends of which is to insure to the nation a wise and efficient employment of its resources and exertion of its force. But, clear and incontrovertible as this doctrine is, undoubted as is the right of the people to charge, without any inquiry into circumstances, the ministers with all the evils arising from the feebleness of the ministry; yet, when much art has been employed to bewilder the public mind as to the cause of such feebleness, it may become useful, if not absolutely necessary, to ascertain that cause; and, this remark must, it is presumed, be allowed to apply with peculiar force to a case like the present, when the ministers, aware of the probable effects of their feebleness, are, in all possible ways,

endeavouring so to mislead the public mind, as to pre-dispose it for shifting, when the hour of calamity shall arise, the responsibility from the shoulders of the ministry to those of their opponents. Of these endeavours the public must, within these few months, have witnessed, in, as well as out of parliament, numerous instances. Merely to notice them separately would fill a sheet of no ordinary bulk; but, there is one which exhibits so fair a specimen of the sentiments and reasoning prevalent through the whole of them, that it will be sufficient to give it an insertion, and just to point out to the reader's attention those parts which are (solely for the reasons above-stated) worthy of notice. The extract is made from the "REVIEW OF THE REPORTS," a work too fully and too recently described in the Register to need a description now; but, we should not forget, that it is evidently conducted by persons desperately devoted to the cause of Mr. Pitt as well as to that of Lord Melville.——The writer, after urging, in terms somewhat general, the necessity of *unanimity* amongst the great public characters of the country, and depicting the fatal consequences that have frequently arisen from the exertions of a powerful opposition, proceeds thus: "When Mr. Burke wrote "(thanks to his energy and eloquence), the "leading men of the nation were united "and sensible of the danger, which how-"ever imminent it might be, was greatly "lessened by that union of talents, pro-"perty, and good intention. At present, "the danger is certainly not less upon the "whole, and in some respects it is much "greater. The force employed against us "is not wielded with such violence indeed, "but with far more steadiness and more "skill. Under the directory, we had to "dread the irregular efforts of a people go-"verned by despots, whose ambition and "enmity had no bounds; but then, they "had neither skill, uniformity, nor conti-"nuity in the exertions, and their existence "was uncertain and ephemeral. The fi-"nances of France were deranged; expe-"dients had been adopted till they were "nearly exhausted, but they were still ne-"cessary, and the chance of a total failure "of resource, was one not the least consi-"derable in favour of England.——At pre-"sent, the power of France, though per-"haps incapable of such violent exertions, "is more extended, and better consoli-"dated. I am afraid we have little to ex-"pect from interior derangement amongst "our enemies. Whatever the great Dis-"poser of events may have in preparation "for us, men can only judge from appear-"ances, and they give no reason to expect "a change in the government of France. "There is now a complete unity in the will "that directs their operations, and the will "is that of the most ambitious man that "perhaps ever existed: A man certainly of "considerable abilities, and who appears "to know better than any other, since the "time of Louis XIV. how to draw out the "energies of the French nation.——I mean "to pay no compliment to Bonaparte at the "expense of truth, but I will not sacrifice "that for the sake of calumniating him. "I shall, by and by, explain why I do not "think so highly of his abilities as the ge-"nerality of mankind do.——The finances "of France are in a situation more solid "than they were, even in the time of mo-"narchy. The whole expense is almost "that of the army; and the army itself "may be said to levy the taxes, so that there "is little danger of their not being paid. "Holland, Flanders, a considerable portion "of Italy, and the whole of the German "territories on the left bank of the Rhine, "may be said to form an integral part of "France. They are governed by the same "chief, and their blood and treasure are at "his disposal.——Spain as an ally, and "Portugal as an enemy, are compelled to "contribute to the expenses of the French; "to which resources may be added, the oc-"casional exactions on the free towns in "the north of Germany.——It is precisely "under those circumstances that the most "inveterate enemies of Bonaparte increase "his power by a threefold operation. They "do all that is possible to render the force "and resources of England contemptible; "this encourages Bonaparte, and discou-"rages all Europe, thereby increasing that "superiority by which he holds them in "subjection. In the second place, it dis-"courages this nation in some degree; and, "undoubtedly, while this lasts, will pre-"vent the possibility either of alliance with "another power, or peace with our enemy "on terms that are compatible either with "our dignity or safety. In the third place, "it occupies our attention.——In Mr. "Burke's opinion, there would be no piety "in the fraud that conceals this state of the "matter; and surely his opinion ought to "have some weight still, with those who so "much admired him while he was amongst "them. Can they deny the statement of "the case? or can they explain their con-"duct?——With regard to the statement "of the case it is undeniable. The mo-"tives, however, may admit of different

" explanations; if they did not, the men " in question would be traitors to their king " and country.——If any set of men for " any consideration whatever enfeeble the " efforts of their country during a war, they " are its enemies; but a momentary feeble- " ness, in order to procure greater vigour " and strength, is another thing. That " part of the opposition that was converted " to Mr. Burke's opinion must think, that " the momentary injury they are doing their " country will be more than counterba- " lanced by future advantage. Let us exa- " mine the probability of this, and consi- " der the matter on all sides.——Previous " to the American war, by means of writ- " ing and speeches, though this country " was in a state of unexampled prosperity, " its government became contemptible in " the eyes of other nations. Even Spain " insulted us, and the relinquishment of " the Falkland Islands made way for the " loss of America. Ministers were brow- " beat till they lost courage, and Spain ima- " gined that she might with impunity resist " a nation that appeared divided against it- " self.——During the whole of the Ame- " rican war, the acrimony and the exagge- " rated representations of opposition tended " to increase the confidence of our ene- " mies, and to diminish it amongst our- " selves. The result was the same in its " nature, though in importance greatly su- " perior, if indeed any thing can be greater " than the loss of dignity in a nation.—— " When the ambition of Russia was about " to have been checked during the interval " between the revolutions of America and " of France, the same opposition, carried " to a still more audacious and unwarrant- " able pitch, prevented England from in- " terfering. Even the imbecility of the " Addingtons would be treated with injus- " tice if we were to attribute to it the " whole of the absurdity of the treaty of " Amiens.——Can it be expected that this " nation will ever treat on equal terms with " any other, while there is a powerful party " in its own bosom that exposes, and not con- " tented with exposing, exaggerates its " weakness? It never can be expected, and " least of all in the present circumstances. " ——Is there, can there be any expecta- " tion of bringing over a party that neither " the greatest prosperity, nor the greatest " danger, could ever for a moment bring " over to the true interest of the nation? " Without acrimony of expression, and set- " ting aside all that sort of language which " may tend to inflame, because it appears " meant to insult, is it not true that Mr. " Fox, and those who are called the oppo- " sition, have persisted in this sort of " conduct? That they persisted in it at " a time when all the friends of Lord " Grenville held it as most dangerous and " unwarrantable so to do? What hope then " can there be of gaining over those men to " co-operate? Surely the friends of Lord " Grenville do not think that mere place, " power, and emolument, would change all " the opinions of Mr. Fox, and those with " whom he acts? They would not be jus- " tified in thinking so, and they certainly " do not think so. If they want to gain " him over they are then attempting an " impossibility at the risk of ruining their " country. This surely is not an effort to " be persisted in. Transcendent as the " abilities of Mr. Fox may be for business, " for the management of national affairs, for " conducting war or making peace, (of " which, without a trial, it is difficult to " judge), yet still, like pure gold, they may " be bought too dear; and so thought the " Grenville party when they quitted him, " and followed the opinions of Mr. Burke. " ——The great strength of the Macedo- " donian phalanx consisted in its integrity " —when broken it was no longer formida- " ble to the enemy. If the present power- " ful opposition acts upon that principle, " (and there is every reason to think that " they do so,) they ought first to ascertain " whether they can be brought to act in an " unbroken state? Whether they carry " their ideas so far as to think that all oppo- " sition would cease, and that merely to " obtain the influence and abilities of the " Grenville party, Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox " can be brought to act together. If they " can, with regard to France, under any " other circumstances than those of absolute " necessity, either the one or the other " must be a very bad man: the one or the " other must have hitherto acted in opposi- " tion to his opinion, or he must relinquish " the opinion from which he has acted.—— " It would be well for the friends of Lord " Grenville to consider the deep game at " which they play; the heavy responsibili- " ty they will incur if they should be the " means of bringing ruin on this coun- " try; and unless they can deny what has " here been asserted, how can they be " certain that such may not be the conse- " quence?——We must not delude our- " selves; the danger is neither common " nor uncertain, and the blame will en- " tirely fall on the Grenville party, who " alone have changed their mode of action. " We shall all share in the calamity, but we

" ll not all share in the disgrace of having " had a hand in occasioning it.——The next " point of consideration is, if we are to " lose other talents in obtaining the assist- " ance of those, what may be their com- " parative value? How much the situation " of the country will be bettered, for in " this case men cannot look ultimately but " to their country. In ordinary affairs, " and on ordinary occasions, it is possi- " ble to conceive men actuated by a spirit " of party or faction (for it is not worth " while to dispute about the meaning of the " word,) without paying any attention to " their country, which may, perhaps, not " be much affected by the result, let it turn " out as it may; but here is a different mat- " ter, the interests of the country are at " stake, and the contest itself, whatever the " ultimate result to the parties may be, is " that of increasing the courage, confidence, " and strength of France; and just in the " same proportion weakening the pow- " ers on the Continent, and weakening our- " selves.——After going still farther in my " next into the conduct of the parties, and " the consequences, I shall, with equal mo- " deration and candour, enter into the ex- " amination of a plan by which the country " may be rescued from the danger with " which she is threatened, and which is in- " evitable, unless the present formidable op- " position is reduced in its importance. It " is not sufficient at present that a minister " can carry his objects in parliament by a " small majority; it is necessary that he " should do it in a way that will show all " Europe that we are neither a weak, nor " a divided nation; but that we have the " power and the will of making head " against our enemies, and being faithful " to our allies." — What " plan" this writer may have had in view he has not since informed us; but, the only practical plan he seems never to have once thought of; for, through the whole of his remarks, you perceive, ever uppermost, the insolent opinion, that, without the Pitts, there *can* be no ministry in England.——But, if we are to condescend to give an answer to this hired writer, we must first endeavour to state, shortly, the amount of his principal positions. ——FIRST, he informs us, that the offensive powers of France are now wielded with astonishing ability; that her resources are greater and stand upon a foundation more solid than even in the time of the monarchy; and that, upon the whole, the danger to us from her enmity and her hostile exertions, is much greater than it was during the last war and the storm of the French revolution. Passing, for the present, over any question as to the truth of this statement, we will stop merely to ask, what, if this be true, becomes of all the praise bestowed upon Mr. Pitt, at the time of the peace of Amiens? Where are we to look for the grounds of Lord Belgrave's speech and of Mr. Canning's song? Where shall we find the " indem- " nity for the past and security for the fu- " ture," which were then said to have been completely obtained? —— SECONDLY, he says, and with perfect truth, that without a strong ministry at home, it is in vain to hope for any useful success abroad; that it is not sufficient, at a crisis like this, that a minister can force along his measures, that he can wring the supplies from parliament by a contemptible majority, or, which is worse, by the trick of surprise or by the more despicable trick of terror to the fund-holders and grinders of paper-money; it is, he says, necessary, that we should convince all Europe, that we are neither a weak nor a divided nation; but, that we have the power and the will of making head against our enemies, and of being faithful to our allies.—THIRDLY, he asserts, that if such a ministry be not formed, the consequences ought to be ascribed solely to Lord Grenville, Lord Spencer, Mr. Windham, and the rest of those noblemen and gentlemen, who sometime ago composed what was denominated the New Opposition, and who have, since the autumn of 1803, co-operated with Mr. Fox and his friends; and, in the same breath that he makes this assertion, he explicitly states, that Mr. Pitt will not and cannot admit of any participation of power with Mr. Fox.——This is the point which we have to contest. We say, that the evils, which may arise (and arise they will in abundance) from the want of a wise and efficient ministry, will be ascribable to Mr. Pitt's love of place and power; and for the truth of this assertion, we appeal to facts, which even his advocates will not have the assurance to deny. ——In 1801 Mr. Pitt, together with the leaders of the New Opposition, quitted the ministry, because, as it was stated by himself, they were not permitted to propose to parliament the measure of Catholic Emancipation, without doing which he openly declared, that they could not, " in *conscience* and in *honour* retain ther places." His devious course subsequent to that resignation; his offer, immediately afterwards made, to remain in place himself; his selection and recommendation of the new ministry who came in upon the ground of opposing that which he was " in conscience and in honour" bound to support; his negociation, in the

winter of 1803, for a resumption of his power, including no mention whatever of the Catholic Question, that important question, upon which he and his colleagues went out: these things we will just mention, merely to show that we bear them in mind, and by way of an introduction to the events of the spring of 1804, when Mr. Pitt, at the end of a course, which has before been accurately traced, turned upon the ministers, who had been selected, recommended, and extolled by him, drove them from their places, which places, after some little time spent in court intrigue, he filled with himself and with those persons, who now share with him the powers and the emoluments of the state.——The Addington ministry was overset by the united force of the Old and New Opposition, as *auxiliaries* to whom Mr. Pitt and his "*little* senate" had acted. His Majesty (by the advice of whom he will have good cause to remember) sent to Mr. Pitt to form a ministry; and, it was soon found that, contrary to the earnest wishes as well as to the confident expectation of the country, he finally resolved to exclude Mr. Fox, and to revive, of course, the opposition, the animosities, and the mischiefs of the preceding war. That the disappointment of the people was great, was unexampled, need not be asserted. It must be fresh in every one's mind, and the recurrence to the event must re-excite indignation in the bosom of every one not basely dependent upon Mr. Pitt. An offer to partake of place and of power was made to the New Opposition, and in rejecting that offer, as they did by the mouth of Lord Grenville, they followed the dictates of wisdom as well as of honour; for, was there then to be found a man in the kingdom weak enough not to perceive, that the re-entrance of the old ministry would have been productive of shame and disgrace to themselves and of corresponding national consequences? They had gone out upon the Catholic Question. Could they have come in without an *endeavour* to carry that question? Could Mr. Windham, as Mr. Pitt has since done, have refused to submit to parliament that which to submit to parliament he had declared himself bound "in *conscience* and in *honour*"? Here, then, without going another step, was an obstacle more than sufficient to prevent the New Opposition from joining Mr. Pitt, in the spring of 1803. But, a consideration, swallowing up all others, was, that the re-entrance of the old ministry would infallibly have revived all the ten-years passions of the previous war; would have again split, not the parliament alone, but the whole nation, into two great divisions nearly equally balanced; and must, in all human probability, have finally led to a peace even more disadvantageous and disgraceful than that of 1802. The whole nation felt this. So far were they from blaming the New Opposition, that the conduct of these gentlemen, in rejecting the offers of Mr. Pitt, was the subject of loud and general applause; and, what ought to be remembered, in this strain none were more loud than almost the whole of those writers, who have since been using their efforts to produce a persuasion, that the New Opposition then acted a *disloyal* part! After it was found, by these writers, that Mr. Pitt had resolved not to *share* the powers of the state, they began to change their tone; but, it was some time before they ventured to censure the New Opposition. They "*lamented*" that a strong and comprehensive ministry had not been formed, and they did rather more than insinuate, that the *blame* rested, not with Mr. Pitt, but with *the King!* This was abominably base. They knew the nation were disappointed, and they wished to turn the effect of that disappointment from Mr. Pitt to His Majesty. The passages, containing the proof of the correctness of this statement, have been before cited, and it is useless to cite them again, especially as they cannot have been forgotten by the reader, who, it is to be presumed, will need nothing further to convince him of the inconsistency, the unprincipled inconsistency, of those writers, who are now endeavouring to throw this *same blame* upon the leaders of the New Opposition.——In about six months after the time which we have here been referring to, an attempt was made to draw off Lord Moira and others from the Opposition; and the reader will scarcely have forgotten the praises then bestowed upon the talents and the character of Messrs. Erskine, Sheridan, and Tierney, who, it was supposed by those writers, would follow Lord Moira. In that attempt Mr. Pitt discovered no disposition to form a strong and respectable ministry; but, a desire merely to prop up *his own power*; merely to fortify *himself* against the attacks of the approaching campaign. Having failed in this, and seeing himself reduced to the necessity either of quitting his hold of place and emolument (for who, *now*, does not laugh in the face of those who talk of his contempt of money), or of obtaining aid from some quarter or other, what did he do? Did he then apply to the Opposition, either *new* or *old*? Did he then, by any such application, shew a disposition to form a ministry upon a broad foundation, and, of

course, to yield a part of his power? No: he had recourse to the Addingtons; to the weakest set of politicians, whether as to numbers, talent, or consequence, that he could possibly find; a set on whom he himself had repeatedly bestowed every expression, with which our language could furnish him, descriptive of "*incapacity* and *imbecility*." It was *he*, observe, who had recourse to this means of preserving his place; for, it is true, and the truth cannot be too often repeated, that he himself *solicited* a junction with Mr. Addington and his friends; he himself wrote a letter to Mr. Addington, through Lord Hawkesbury, *soliciting* him to join him. Does the history of this country, or of the whole world, furnish such an instance of the effects of low ambition?—— Now again the Addingtons have left him to himself; and his partizans, after having abused, after having affected to despise, after having expressed their satisfaction that Mr. Pitt had nothing to do with the Opposition, particularly the Grenvilles, have now the assurance to *blame* them for the present weakness of the ministry, and to assert, that they, by continuing to stand aloof from Mr. Pitt, will become answerable for all the evil consequences of that weakness!——The New Opposition, or, as they are here termed, "the Grenvilles," ought to quit the old Opposition, and to join Mr. Pitt, because, "it is impossible to *bring* Mr. Fox and his friends *over*"; that is to say, to *Mr. Pitt's way of thinking!* never appearing to suppose it *possible* that they might very easily and very consistenly be brought into power by the *turning out* of Mr. Pitt. Indeed, the whole of the argument is built upon the principle, that, let what will happen; let what will be the consequence, Mr. Pitt must remain in power! These writers speak of him, as they would, upon a like occasion, speak of *the King*. For him to remain is absolutely necessary to the preservation of their places and emoluments; and, when they lament that his ministry is so *weak*, they are only in fear that it will not be found to have strength enough to support *him* and *them*. As to the fact; as to the probability of a junction of the New Opposition with the present ministry, the reader can, after all that he has heard and seen during the last year, hardly be weak enough to entertain the belief. The thing is morally impossible; at least so it appears to me. And, who that reflects upon the state of things; upon the great parliamentary questions that *must* be agitated; who that only just glances at the questions of the Parish-Army bill, and the trial of Lord Melville; who, that so reflects, can, for one moment, suppose that any junction can be formed between Mr. Pitt and the leaders of the whole of the present Opposition, generally considered? Such a junction would destroy all public confidence in every one of the parties; or, it must be speedily followed by a separation in the cabinet, replunging things into greater confusion than ever. To confine ourselves to one point: would Mr. Pitt and the leaders of the Opposition agree as to the measures to be adopted with regard to Lord Melville? Could they agree upon the subject of these measures? The eyes of the people are fixed upon that object, whence the increasing burdens, occasioned by the war, are not calculated to withdraw them. The people look that way with a steady and with a suspicious eye. Would Mr. Fox be "*brought over*" to Mr. Pitt upon that score? Would Mr. Whitbread be brought over by the reasoning of Mr. Canning, or by the pathetic and winning silence of Mr Huskisson? The thing is impossible. No such junction can take place; and, therefore; those who wish for a powerful and respectable ministry, must wish for and ought to endeavour to effect, the displacing of Mr. Pitt. He, and he alone, is the cause of that feebleness in the government, which his partizans affect to lament, and of which the nation at large most justly complain. Instead of being "the "pilot to weather the storm" he is the JONAS of the state vessel. Call not his passion *ambition*; it is not ambition; it is a mere *love of rule*; and this love of rule is a very foul feeder; it cares not on what it lives, or from what hand it receives its sustenance. Ambition is a noble, though sometimes a dangerous, passion: it is the parent of vices as well as of virtues, but its progeny is always marked with some feature of *greatness*. Whereas a mere desire to rule necessarily leads to the practising of all those arts, which men denominate mean, and by which, step by step, a people are degraded in their character, and, of course, sunk in the estimation of one another and of the world.

DISPUTE WITH AMERICA.——As this dispute is of considerable importance in itself, and as it is likely to give rise to much public discussion, it will be proper to state, at the outset, the nature of the case, in a manner somewhat more full and correct, than it has yet been stated in the public prints. The first information of the existence of the dispute was communicated to the public through the Morning Chronicle of the 19th instant; and, as it is pretty evident, that the article alluded to came from the pen of some one who wished to put the

people of this country upon the American side of the dispute, the insertion of the article here, previous to my statement of the case, will, I hope, be regarded as a proof of that fairness, which, it is my wish, should be apparent in every part of that share, however trifling it may be, that I shall venture to take in the discussion. —"It appears (from the American papers) that an account of the decisions "which have recently taken place in our "Courts of Admiralty, had been received "in America, and had given rise to the "most serious complaints against this "country. The papers are full of the matter, and they threaten *reprisals* in a way "which demands, on our part, a little seasonable reflection on our conduct. The "Americans complain of all the European "Powers in different ways, and perhaps "with reason. It is material that our readers should know the precise nature of "their complaint against us, and we shall "endeavour to state it in few words:—So "long ago as the year 1799, an American "ship called the Essex, Capt. Orne, took "in a cargo of wine at Barcelona for Salem. "It was landed at Salem, and paid the Custom-house duties there; it was then re-"shipped on board the same vessel, and the "ship sailed for the Havannah. In her "voyage she was taken by an English "cruizer, and carried into a West-India "island, where, after a long discussion, "she was declared a lawful prize, as Spanish property. An appeal was made to "England, and the case came on to be argued here about eight months ago, when "the Counsel for the Captors set up an argument, for the first time, founded on an "old and almost obsolete practice, that the "touching at Salem, and landing of cargo "there, was a mere subterfuge, that the "original intention was to carry the cargo "to the Havannah, and that, in fact, the "voyage from Salem to the Havannah was "*a continuation of the original voyage.* "The Lords of Appeal said this was a most "important consideration, and required "time to deliberate on it. After an interval of three months they decided upon "this argument, that it was a lawful capture.—As soon as this decision became "known in our Navy, the cruizers seized "and brought in a number of vessels under "the same circumstances, and several decisions have been made. The first was the "case of an American vessel, which took "in a cargo of sugar at Guadaloupe, carried it to New-York, there landed the "sugars, paid the port duties, &c. forthwith "reshipped them, and sailed for Antwerp. "In the voyage the ship was taken, and "on a trial before Sir William Scott, he "solemnly decided, on the new argument "(which, however, he said, was founded "on an old doctrine) that it was a continuation of the original voyage, and the ship "was condemned. Many others followed. "It was a God-send to our men of war and "privateers, for the Americans conceived "themselves perfectly safe in pursuing this "course, as it had been acted upon without "question through the whole of the last "war. Several instances have occurred indeed, where the ships brought in upon "this pretext have been released. Whenever the captured party could exhibit satisfactory proof that the cargo was originally intended for the American market, "that it was advertised for sale, exposed in "an open store, offered at a price, &c. "and that it was evidently reshipped only "because the owner could not find a purchaser; then it has been held that the "capture was not legal. But the course of "the trade was the other way; and though "it was a doctrine good only until it came "to be known, yet the depredations upon "America, to which it has given rise, is "enormous. And this complaint is that "the practice having gone on, without interruption or question, during the whole "of the last war, and until this decision on "the case of the Essex, they ought, in "fairness, to have had notice of our return "to the old obsolete practice; and that all "the condemnations made without such "notice, are unjust, violent, and hostile.— "These are the facts as we understand them. "We trust we have stated the case fairly. "A strong memorial has been presented by "the American Minister to Lord Hawkesbury on the occasion; and his answer, as "transmitted a few days ago, was, that it "was a case of such importance as to demand time for serious investigation. We "trust it will receive serious investigation, "and also a candid, speedy, and fair answer. We have had too much of hasty "violence and tardy atonement. Our maritime strength does not so much depend "on our power of seizure as on the freedom of our commerce. And we ought "not, either in justice or in policy, to "drive America to measures of reprisal. "If she should lay an embargo on all exports to our West-India Islands for only "six months, what would be our and their "condition? And even without that act of "vengeance, a non-importation agreement "of British manufactures for one year, would

"be a loss to this country of 7 millions ster-"ling."—The observations, with which this article closes, will demand some little notice by-and-by. At present it is necessary only to say, that they appear to betray the origin of the statement; and, if it should be found that I am correct, it will certainly be evident, that this statement is not so.——The case of the ship ESSEX, was, as far as I recollect, not the first, by several, on which *the argument, whereon that case was decided,* had been urged; though, perhaps, it might be the first, in which, *upon a full disclosure of all the circumstances* the point came SIMPLY to issue. This observation is very material, and should be borne in mind with the greater care, as the writer above seems to have been solicitous to rest much of his complaint upon the *novelty*, (considered as to latter times) of the principle, upon which the case was decided, and upon the alleged injustice of taking the Americans by surprise.——The point at issue is this: *whether the securing by bond* (not the actual paying) *of the municipal duties in America should be considered as making a complete interruption of the voyage from the colony of the enemy, to Europe; and should, of course, be considered as the commencement of a new voyage from America to Europe.* The reason why this became a point of great importance the reader will easily perceive, when he recollects, that were we not to exercise our right of seizing enemy's produce coming from their colonies to Europe, the whole of their maritime colonial concerns would, in time of war, be carried on, in perfect safety, by the intervention of neutrals, and that thus, our superiority at sea, would be deprived of one of its greatest advantages; and, when he further recollects, that the mere entrance of, or even re-shipment in, an American port, were it allowed to give protection to the produce of the enemy, would but in a very small degree diminish the injury, which we should sustain from the colonial concerns of the enemy being carried on by such intervention.——The duty (on sugar, for instance), in such cases imposed in the American ports, is equal to about one-sixth of the value of the commodity; or, let us call it, 16 and ½ per centum. For that amount a *bond* only is given; and, upon a certificate being, at a subsequent time, produced, that the merchandize has been landed in *an European* port, the bond is cancelled, upon the payment of 3 and ½ per centum, not upon the value of the article, but upon the amount *of the duty*; a mere trifle; no object at all with the owner of the cargo; and, of course, not by any means sufficient to check the collusive practice of thus conveying the produce of the enemy safely to their ports in Europe, under the protection of the American flag.——The Americans do not (and indeed they cannot have the confidence to do it) represent it as *new*, that a voyage *directly* from the enemy's colonies to Europe should be considered as illegal. It was so considered all last war, and that, too, in his Majesty's public instructions to his cruizers. It was maintained by all those, in America, who defended the treaty of 1794; and, after a discussion the most ample that any question ever underwent, our right of siezure in such cases, was sanctioned by the decision of all the three branches of the American government.——Full as little, unless from their inexperience as a new nation indeed, can they consider it as *new*, that a re-shipment of the same goods, on board the same ship, after going into port to repair, or to sell a part of her cargo, or any similar purpose, which does not clearly show a design of ending the voyage there; or, a transshipment of them into another ship, for the purpose of carrying them to their original destination, in prosecution of the original expedition; full as little can they consider it as *new*, that, none of these transactions should be allowed to prevent the voyage to Europe from America from being considered as a continuation of the first voyage, and should be so adjudged, and a second, a separate, a distinct, and independent voyage. The proposition can hardly be stated in terms that do not, at a glance, demonstrate the absurdity of a contrary doctrine.—— The only dispute, therefore, must turn, in every case, on the *nature* of the re-shipment, or trans-shipment: *whether, in reality, it was, or was not, in prosecution of the original expedition.* And this, of course, must, in every case, be a question of fact.——Now, America either must contend, that the bringing of the West India produce to America (to the Southern States, perhaps, hardly out of the direct track to Europe), landing and weighing it for the purpose of ascertaining the amount of the duties and sometimes not landing it at all, giving a bond, putting the goods on board the same ship or another kept ready to receive them, and then sailing away in a few days to an European port, to which the vessel could not, in consequence of our acknowledged right of seizure, have gone at once from the colony where she took in the cargo; either America must contend, that all this clearly shows that the voyage to Europe was *not* in prosecution of an intention which existed, when the vessel took in her cargo in the West Indies, an

inference from the facts which no man of common sense could hear with a grave countenance, unless of indignation, at the insult attempted to be put upon him: or, she must in reality advance a claim, that her municipal laws shall, wherever her interests are concerned, over-rule the law of nations, and in every other case, as well as in this, be an impassable bar to exclude all inquiry into facts; a pretension which, however arrogantly advanced by some of her newspaper politicians, will hardly be openly urged by any person calling himself a statesman: or, finally, she must remount to her old ground of denying altogether our right to interrupt her intercourse with the colonies of our enemies, let what will be the manner or the extent, in which she chooses to carry on such an intercourse; a controversy, which, whenever and wherever it be revived, will, it may with confidence be predicted, terminate but very little to the honour of those, by whom the rights of England shall be opposed.——This explanation will, it is presumed, give the reader a rather more correct notion of the justice of America, in the dispute, than the correspondent of the Morning Chronicle (for, I am almost certain that the article above quoted did not come from the pen of the gentleman who chiefly conducts that paper) has expressed. And, as to the *policy* of enforcing our rights, or compromising them by *compact*, though the discussion of this question would involve too many opposite and difficult considerations for me to attempt to enter on it without much more reflection than I have, at present, time to bestow upon the subject; yet, as to the arguments, which this writer has incidentally advanced in favour of concession on our part, I can have, and I am of opinion the reader will have, no hesitation in rejecting them, and that, too, not without some small degree of disdain. What! shall we be told, that—"our maritime strength does not so much "depend on our power of seizure as on the "*freedom of our commerce?*" A phrase, (this latter), which, if it mean any thing, means, that our utmost pretensions, as to commercial maritime rights, should be confined to the buying and selling and carrying as much as we can; and, that we should interrupt nobody, so long as nobody interrupted us. Upon the Change this doctrine may do very well; but, if once adopted and acted upon by our government, it would, in the space of two years of war, transfer every sailor, that could get or stay abroad, into the service of neutral States; would deprive us of one half of the use of our navy; would, in a short time, annihilate the navy itself; and (so short-sighted is commercial avarice!) would bring swift ruin on our own merchants, supposing them not to be exposed to ruin in common with their defenceless country.—"We ought not," says this writer, "either in justice or policy, to drive "America to measures of reprisal." The *justice* the reader will now judge of, and the policy we will speak a little further of presently; but, for America to make *reprisals*, she must first be *at war*, (a situation, which might, of itself, produce in her a different way of thinking) and she must find us *aiding* her enemy, by carrying to his ports, in an indirect manner, the produce of his colonies.—"If she should lay an embargo on "all exports to our West-India Islands, for "only six months, what would be our and "their condition? And, even without "that act of vengeance, a non-importation "agreement [in America] of British manufactures for one year, would be a loss "to this country of seven millions ster"ling."—First, observe, that this argument of American vengeance is a sweeper. It is applicable to all cases and to all times. It subjects us to hope as capricious as that of love; and to fear as constant as that of death. It, in all likelihood, originated in the troubled mind of some one of the "*great shippers* to America," who, as the reader may have perceived from the public prints, have been with Mr. Pitt open-mouthed, seized, doubtless, with a patriotic terror, lest their American debtors should, (for a second time) think a war-budget to be a good settlement of the balances of their books. But, Sir Balaam, be tranquil! cease to tremble, thou timid man! Go, hush thy fears and count thy bags! for, be assured, that the Americans love money as well as thou dost; and, that the "measures of vengeance," of which thou speakest, would infallibly reduce *their merchants* to beggary, and, if adopted for such a reason, might, perchance, throw their statesmen out of bread, by a complete overthrow of their government. Granted, that a six months prohibition of trade with our islands would produce great and terrible mischief to those Islands, and, of course, to us. But, Sir Baldam, do you not know, that the warehouses of America are always full of goods prepared for those Islands? And, do you duly reflect on the consequences of preventing those goods from being shipped off? On the ruin of the merchant who has bought the corn and the meal and the fish and the lumber? On the suspension of the mills and the fisheries and the saw-mills?

On the reduction in the price of the farmer's produce, at the same moment and from the same cause, that the price of his coffee [drunk daily even by labourers] and his rum [the common drink of the country] and his molasses [of general use] and his sugar are all augmented in price? And as to "the non-importation agreement," at the bare possibility of which you seem so terrified, do you think, that it would have no terrors for America? Granted, that you and your brethren ship seven millions worth of British manufactures annually to America, yet, unless they be *all* rotten, except it be *all profit*, a non-importation agreement for a year could not possibly produce seven millions' worth of *loss*. Your brain is disturbed, Sir Balaam, or you would not forget, that a non-importation agreement would triple the price of British manufactures, the coats and the shirts of the men and the gowns and the petticoats of the women, all those things, in short, which make them differ in appearance from their savage neighbours. Your brain is certainly turned, Balaam, or you would remember, that the taxes, by which the general government is supported, and by which Mr. Jefferson has been enabled to take off the internal taxes, and *thereby to obtain his popularity*, are derived chiefly from the importation of British manufactures; and, if you overlook, Mr. Jefferson will not, the probable, and almost inevitable consequences of imposing heavy internal taxes (for he must prepare for war) upon the farmers, at the very time that their produce is lowered and their wearing-apparel and hard-ware are augmented in price three or four fold.—I do not say, that a gross injury, or even insult, would not induce the Americans to submit to such sacrifices, and I would be amongst the last of those, who would try them in any way; but, rest assured, Balaam, that they would not make any sacrifice at all to humour the caprice or the malignity of any one of their statesmen; no, nor of all their statesmen put together. And, as to their paying you with a sponge, fear it not; for, though such a mode of payment might perfectly well square with the morality of *some* of them; yet, if my observation has not been very superficial, there are good sense and integrity enough left in the country to prevent any general measure of that sort from being adopted; unless in case of some provocation so outrageous as to excite a degree of resentment sufficient to bear down and to smother all other feelings.——Again, therefore, I say, Balaam hush your fears and count your bags, or rather your slips of paper; for, be convinced, that Mr. Pitt wants no councillors on the side of temporising; that when the object is to *give up* (any thing except his place), he wants no one to back him; and, I trust, you may rely upon it, that, if he make a stand for the rights and the honours of England, though the dealers in American stock and shippers of goods to America should forsake him, he will have the support of a great majority of the nation, whom, Balaam, as you may have perceived, danger has taught to begin, at least, to think less of the funds and more of their country than they used to do.—I am aware, that some ill-natured wit will say, that, upon this American case, I am writing *con amore*; in answer to which insinuation, I shall appeal to all the sentiments that I have ever expressed upon the subject, both on this and on the other side of the Atlantic. When there, I frequently had occasion to deprecate the humble tone of our negociators and our ministers; and, if a different tone be taken now, I shall rejoice in having to applaud it, hear it from whomsoever I may. In the mean time, I cannot refrain from taking the liberty to beg the public as well as the ministers to be upon their guard against the representations of the owners of American *funds* and American *lands* and the *traders* to *America*. These (and they are very numerous) have all a strong bias towards that country, as, indeed, they naturally must have. There are some honorable exceptions; but, generally speaking, their representations are to be received with great caution; to say nothing of their ignorance of the real interests of either country.

PARISH ARMY.——This army (what an abuse of words to call it an atmy!) has had, and yet has, as many names as any thief that ever was brought before the police-magistrates of the metropolis. It is not "a child of many fathers;" but, as to names, certainly no one of the sons of Adam ever surpassed it. Some call it the Army of Reserve; some the Additional Army; others the Additional Force; others the New Militia; the use of these and many other terms has created such a confusion in the heads of the Churchwardens and Overseers, that they appear really not to know any thing at all of the meaning of the act, by which they have been set in motion. From amongst the various terms that I have heard used, I have selected that which is at once the most brief and most characteristic; except, perhaps, as to the circumstance, that the *parishes* have not, and never will, raise one fiftieth part of the men, of which the army was intended to be composed.——What has led to a recurrence to the subject, at this time, is

that the magistrates of the different counties are now engaged in ordering, according to the act, the *fines to be levied* upon the parishes for their not having raised the number of men required of them. The proceedings upon one of these occasions (in Berkshire) have been published in the Reading paper of the 20th instant; and, as the example of that country is very likely to be followed by others I shall insert the account of the proceedings here.——"BERKSHIRE, to wit. "At a general quarter sessions of the peace "of our Sovereign Lord the King, holden "at Abingdon, in and for the said county, on Tuesday the eighth day of October, 1805.——The inspector general having transmitted to this sessions two certificates of penalties amounting to 3,300*l*. incurred by certain parishes in this county under the Permanent Additional Force Act, 44th Geo. III. c. 56, viz. for 50 militia men and for 115 men for the additional force:——Ordered, that the clerk of the peace do issue process for levying the said penalties on the parishes respectively in default.——Resolved, that in the opinion of this bench, the said act is *injurious* and *unfair* in its operation, and that attempts ought to be made in parliament for repealing the same. Resolved, that the said resolution be published, and that copies be transmitted to the members of this county.——The return is not before me; but, I believe, that the numbers here stated *not* to have been raised amounts to within about 20 of the whole number which *ought* to have been raised by the parishes in Berkshire; and, that the deficiency is nearly the same proportion in most, if not all, of the other counties, there can be very little doubt. Thus has the act turned out to be exactly what it was said, what Mr. Pitt was told, over and over again, that it would be, namely, a *mere tax*; and a tax, too, operating, according to the opinion expressed in the Berkshire resolution, in a manner both "*injurious* and *unfair*." To obtain *men*; men, men, and not money, was repeatedly declared by the Pitts and the Cannings to be the object of the act; and, as repeatedly were they told, that the men would not be obtained. Yet, you shall not hear their hired partizans slacken in their praises of the wisdom of these their statesmen!——Considered as a *tax-bill*, certainly it is the most injurious and unfair that ever was heard of. The whole produce of it may be, perhaps, about *a hundred thousand pounds*, and, it will not have cost, in expenses of various sorts, less than double that sum. Every one must know how carelessly the interests of parishes, as to their money-matters, must be attended to; how many useless charges are made to a parish, upon every occasion; and, let it be recollected, that about *forty thousand* parish officers have been, in a greater or less degree, occupied upon this army business, together with all the numerous train of inspectors, clerks, deputy lieutenants, constables, magistrates, &c. &c. amounting, in the whole, to not less than fifty thousand persons, for the purpose of raising, probably, not more than *four* or *five* thousand men! There cannot have been less than five hundred thousand letters written upon the subject. The printing, the paper, and the postage, have cost more money than it would have taken to raise twice the number of men in the regular way of recruiting. And, which is worse, beyond all comparison worse than the loss of money, *a year and a half* has been lost, and that, too, at this most important crisis, in the great business of forming an army. Four years ago, then again three years ago, then two years ago, and then last year, were the ministry urged to set about some efficient and permanent plan for raising an army. From year to year have they put it off; and, under the pretence of a necessity for *expedition*, they have adopted scheme after scheme, the effect of which has been to *retard*, to lessen even the numbers that would have been raised, if no new regulation whatever had taken place. But, though an excuse were to be found for all the previous blunders, none surely can be found for the pertinacity, with which this inefficient and vexatious measure was adhered to during the last session of parliament. The scheme had then failed; completely failed; the proof of its failure was before the parliament; and yet it was adhered to, though by that adherence the country has now, perhaps, twenty thousand men, *real* soldiers, less than it would have had, if the act had been repealed, and if a judicious mode of recruiting, such as was recommended by the Opposition, had been adopted. How valuable would this force have been at this time! What favourable, what important consequences, might have resulted from the having it at command! Let us not call it a *misfortune*; it is a *fault* of our own; it is owing to our own indifference, to our want of real public-spirit, to our want of that zeal in the cause of our country; this is the fault, to which it is to be attributed, that those exertions were not made, by which a repeal of the parish army bill, would and must have been produced.

CONTINENTAL WAR.——That this war,

the most awful that ever was waged, the most fortunate or the most fatal in its consequences to Europe and to the world, and of all the world to England more than to any other country, has actually begun the reader will learn from the account, in a preceding page of the present number, of the battle between the French and the Austrians at WIRTENGEN.——The facility of passage afforded the French through the states of its three willing dependents, the Elector of Baden, Wirtemberg, and Bavaria, together with the facility, which they took the liberty to make to themselves a passage through the Margravate of Anspach (a detached territory of Prussia), have enabled them to fall upon the Austrians at Wirtengen, to push them back from several other posts, and finally to cross the Danube with their main army, and place themselves between the Austrians and Vienna, and, which is of more fatal augur, between the Austrians and the Russians, which latter, in two or three strong bodies, amounting in the whole, perhaps, to fifty thousand men were, it is confidently said, within a few days march of the French army, when the last advices came away. To pretend to speak with an air of accuracy of the precise amount of the forces which the French and Austrians now oppose to each other would be something worse than absurd; but, it appears to be admitted, on all hands, that the force of the former is greatly superior to that of the latter; and, if this be the case, there can be little doubt, that Buonaparte will force his enemy to an action, of which action it is by no means improbable that the news will be received before this sheet comes from the press. The *position* of the Austrians becomes, in this state of things, an object of fearful importance; and it is, too, an object as to which we can come at nothing better than a guess. Be it what it may, however, the French Emperor will assail them; for, if he do not, and if he defeat them not, he must, 'ere long, be himself in a position, from which he will, according to present appearances, find it very difficult to extricate himself.—He will be between two fires; at least that must be the case whenever the Russians come up, if the Austrians be not previously defeated, and if they be not completely defeated too. The next battle is, therefore, for his crown; but, it is not impossible, that it may, too, be for something approaching very near to the crown of the House of Austria; for, as to the Russians, they would oppose but a feeble resistance to a victorious army of a hundred and forty thousand men. The dangers on the side of the North, if they really menace him, he would cast behind him, rushing forward upon the wings of revenge, to humble, to chastise, to destroy, his most dreaded adversary, the last remaining bar to his inordinate ambition. The crisis is the most momentous, the most awful, that Europe ever witnessed. The mail may now be coming on with the decision of its fate! The battle bewteen the French and the Austrians will, too, in all probability, have great weight in determining the future conduct of Prussia. If things go well on the Danube, we shall have her for an ally; if they go ill, it is to be feared that Lord Harrowby and Mr. Hammond, whom, from the news-papers, we may suppose to be dispatched for the purpose of accelerating the conversion of the Prussian king, will, it is much to be feared, preach in vain; for, if the Austrians be completely defeated, is it to be believed, that all the bank notes that ever were printed in Thread-needle Street will make one Prussian soldier shoulder his musket? It is confidently stated, that the Prussian monarch has granted a passage, through part of his states at least, to the Russian troops; but, that he has done this in consequence of the violation of his rights of neutrality by the French in Anspach, is utterly incredible, so good an excuse for his not resenting that affront being offered him in the fact of the Austrians having previously set at nought the rights of neutrality of his neighbour, in another quarter, the Elector of Bavaria. If, therefore, he really be so friendly, as he is represented to be, to the cause of the allies, that friendship must have before existed; and, instead of his being rendered hostile to France by the passage of Anspach, it is by no means improbable, that it was his already-existing hostile intention, of which Buonaparté was informed, that led to the forcing of that passage by the order of the latter. This is, however, mere conjecture, and of no more authentic stamp are the grounds of an opinion, generally prevalent, that, *now*, the king of Prussia, even upon the principles of that selfish policy, which is attributed to him, may as well go on as to stop, for that, come peace when and how it will, Buonaparté will make him feel the effects of his *resentment*. This is an argument, of which the French will take care to break the force, at Berlin, or they are much less adroit diplomatists than they have, heretofore, generally proved themselves to be.

Printed by Cox and Baylis, No. 75, Great Queen Street, and published by R. Bagshaw, Bow-Street, Covent Garden, where former Numbers may be had; sold also by J. Budd, Crown and Mitre, Pall-mall.